

THE
R I G H T S
OF
GREAT BRITAIN ASSERTED
AGAINST THE
CLAIMS OF AMERICA:
BEING AN
ANSWER
TO THE
DECLARATION
OF THE
GENERAL CONGRESS.

THE FOURTH EDITION,
WITH ADDITIONS.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE materials upon which the following Pamphlet is formed, were derived from the best and most uncontested authorities. The Author had access to original papers, accurate estimates, and authentic dispatches. He has also availed himself of the records of both Houses of Parliament ; and he has made it his business to examine, with attention, such printed tracts as might contribute to throw any light on the subject. Upon the whole, more labour and time have been employed on this short disquisition, than are generally bestowed upon fugitive Publications of the same kind. The design of the Writer has been to extricate the contest now subsisting between Great-Britain and her Colonies, from the errors of the ignorant, and the misrepresentations of designing men. As he has rigidly adhered to truth throughout, and to such arguments as naturally arise from undoubted facts, he hopes he has attained his object.

A N
A N S W E R
T O T H E
D E C L A R A T I O N
O F T H E
G E N E R A L C O N G R E S S.

WHEN Independent States take up arms, they endeavour to impress the World with a favourable opinion of their own cause, and to lay the blame of hostilities on the injustice of their Opponents. But if Nations, accountable to none for their conduct, deem it necessary to reconcile others to their proceedings, the necessity is still more urgent with regard to those who, breaking through every political duty, draw their swords against the State of which they own themselves the Subjects. The opinions of mankind are invariably opposed to such men. Their assertions are heard with distrust, their arguments weighed with caution; and, therefore, it is as necessary for

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THEM to adhere to truth, in the former, as it is prudent to avoid sophistry in the latter.

This consideration, however obvious it may appear to others, seems to have totally escaped the attention of the body of men who lately sat at Philadelphia under the name of "The General American Congress." In a paper published under the title of "A DECLARATION by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America" *, the facts are either wilfully or ignorantly misrepresented; and the arguments deduced from premises that have no foundation in truth. But, as whatever falls from men who call themselves the Representatives of a People, must fall with some degree of weight on the minds of the undiscerning part of mankind; it becomes, in some measure, necessary to examine briefly the reasons held forth by the Congress to justify the rebellion of their Constituents. On a subject so trite, arguments advanced by other Writers may sometimes recur; but novelty is less the object of this part of the disquisition, than perplexity and precision.

The Declaration of the Congress begins with an involved period, which either contains no meaning, or a meaning not founded on the principles of reason. They seem to insinuate, that no body of men, in any Empire, can exercise "an unbounded authority

* Vide Appendix.

" over

“ over others ;” an opinion contrary to fact under every form of Government. No maxim in policy is more universally admitted, than that a supreme and uncontrollable power must exist somewhere in every State. This ultimate power, though justly dreaded and reprobated in the person of ONE MAN, is the first spring in every Political Society. The great difference, between the degrees of freedom in various Governments, consists merely in the manner of placing this necessary discretionary power. In the British Empire it is vested, where it is most safe, in King, Lords, and Commons, under the collective appellation of the Legislature. The Legislature is another name for the Constitution of the State ; and, in fact, the State itself. The Americans still own themselves the subjects of the State ; but if they refuse obedience to the laws of the Legislature, they play upon words, and are no longer Subjects, but Rebels. In vain have they affirmed that they are the Subjects of the King’s prerogative, and not his Subjects in his legislative quality ; as the King, with regard to his Subjects in general, is to be considered only in his executive capacity as the great hereditary Magistrate, who carries into effect the laws of the Legislature, the only discretionary and uncontrollable power in a free State.

The discretionary and uncontrollable authority of the British Legislature being

granted, their right to tax all the Subjects of the British Empire can never be denied. Some ill-informed reasoners in politics have lately started an obsolete maxim, which has been seized with avidity by the Americans, That “ the Supreme Power cannot take “ from any one any part of his property “ without his consent;” or in other words, That Representation is inseparable from Taxation. The Colonists, say they, have no Representatives in Parliament, and therefore Parliament has no right to tax the Colonists. Upon this principle, scarce one in twenty-five of the people of Great-Britain is represented. Out of more than seven millions, fewer than three hundred thousand have an exclusive right to chuse Members of Parliament; and, therefore, more than three times the number of the Americans have an equal right with them to dispute the authority of the Legislature to subject them to taxes. The truth is, Representation never accompanied Taxation in any State. The Romans were a free nation; yet the Senate, that is, the great body of the Nobility, possessed the sole right of taxing the people. In this kingdom, the House of Commons have an exclusive right of modifying and regulating the quantity of public supplies, and the manner of laying taxes: but the Commons, by their own authority, cannot enforce the raising the supplies they vote. That privilege is inherent in the supreme and unaccountable power vested

vested in the three branches of the Legislature united; who are in fact the State, as the virtual Representatives of the whole Empire, and not the delegates of individuals. Why it has been so generally received as a maxim, in this country, That Taxation and Representation are inseparable, requires to be explained. Men little acquainted with the Constitution, derived the opinion from their finding, that it is the indisputable right of the Commons, that all grants of subsidies and parliamentary aids should originate in their House. But though they first bestow those subsidies and aids, their grants, as has been already observed, have no effect without the assent of the other two branches of the Legislature. The common reason given for this exclusive privilege is, That as the supplies are raised upon the body of the people, the people only ought to have the right of taxing themselves. This argument would have been conclusive, if the Commons taxed none but those by whose suffrages they obtained their seats in Parliament. But it has appeared, that more than seven millions of people, besides the Peers, who are in possession of so large a share of property in the kingdom, have no voice in the election of the Members who sit in the Lower House. The Commons, therefore, and their Constituents not being the *only* persons taxed, the former cannot possibly

sibly have the *only* right of raising and modelling the supply, from the mere circumstance of Representation. But if they have it not from Representation, they must in fact derive it from the supreme and discretionary power, which is reposed in them, in conjunction with the two other branches of the Legislature. It appears, upon the whole, that Taxation is the result of the discretionary power which is placed in the hands of the Legislature, and exerted by them for the necessary support of the State. To this power the whole Empire must submit, and consequently no one of its subjects can claim any exemption.

The Counties Palatine of Chester, Durham, and Lancaster, were anciently in the same predicament with the Americans, on the article of Taxation. The Earl of Chester and the Bishop of Durham became, by prescription and immemorial custom, possessed of a kind of regal jurisdiction, within their respective territories. A similar form of Government was established by King Edward III. in the County of Lancaster; which was erected first into an Earldom, and then into a Dukedom, in the person of Henry Plantagenet; whose heiress carried the same rights and privileges to John of Gant, that King's fourth son, and his posterity. But though the SUBORDINATE SOVEREIGNS of these Counties could pardon treasons, murders and felonies;

nies; though they appointed all Judges, nominated all Justices of the Peace, and, in short, possessed exclusively the whole internal Government of their several Counties; their SUBJECTS (if the expression may be used) were "always bound by the ACTS and STATUTES" * of an Assembly, in which they had no Representatives. They were also "liable to all payments, rates, and subsidies, granted by the Parliament of England" †.

Those Counties (it must be confessed), like the Americans, considered their being excluded from having Representatives in an Assembly by which they were taxed, a grievance. Accordingly, the Town and County of Chester, as far back as the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. petitioned the Legislature for the privilege of sending Members to Parliament; and their request was granted by an express Statute ‡. The County and City of Durham made a similar application, and with the same success, in the twenty-fifth of Charles II §. Had the Americans, instead of flying to arms, submitted the same supposed grievance, in a

* Statutes at Large, 34 and 35 of Henry VIII.
¶ 13.

† Ibid. 25 of Charles II. c. 9.

‡ 34 and 35 of Henry VIII. c. 13.

§ 25 of Charles II. c. 9.

peaceable

peaceable and dutiful manner, to the Legislature, I can perceive no reason why their request should be refused. Had they, like the County and City of Chester, represented, that " for lack of Knights and Burgeses to " represent them in the High Court of Parliament, they had been oftentimes TOUCHED " and GRIEVED with Acts and Statutes made " within the said Court, derogatory to their " most ancient jurisdictions, liberties and privileges, and prejudicial to their quietness, " rest and peace ; " this Country would, I am persuaded, have no objection to their being represented in her Parliament.

But the Colonies, though that circumstance is only insinuated in the Declaration, have uniformly affirmed, that granting the supremacy of Parliament should extend over the whole Empire, yet that they themselves have a right to an exemption from Taxes, either by the concessions of the Legislature, or by charters from the King. It seems incompatible with reason, say they, that the Colonies should have internal Legislatures of their own, possessing the authority of taxation, and that, notwithstanding, the British Parliament should retain its power of laying imposts. The first of these assertions is not founded in truth. The Charters give no exemption from Taxation: on the contrary, some of them, for instance the Charter of Pennsylvania, expressly

ly subjects the inhabitants of that Province to the payment of "such taxes as were "then (in 1680) laid, or should thereafter "be laid on America, by the Parliament "of England." But had the Charters mentioned an exemption, the Legislature, by virtue of its supreme, universal, and discretionary power, can recal any rights they have conferred, when the good of the State renders that measure necessary. Though the King may give away by Charter a right that militates against himself, as hereditary Chief Magistrate, he cannot authorize, by any deed whatever, an exemption from the general laws of the State. In such a case ONE of the THREE branches of the Legislature would usurp the power of the THREE UNITED; a solecism as great in polity, as it is in mathematicks to affirm, that a part is greater than the whole.

It may be necessary, perhaps, to make an apology for entering so minutely into the argument in favour of the right of Taxation. The Americans themselves have deserted that ground. They speak no longer as subjects. They assume the language of rivals, and they act as enemies. The question between them and Great-Britain (for it is no longer between them and Government) consists of dependence or independence, connection or no connection, except on the footing of a Sovereign State. They have already arrogated

gated to themselves all the functions of Sovereignty. They have formed a great deliberative Council. They have taken the whole executive power into their own hands. They have struck a new currency, raised armies, appointed generals; and that they have not chosen ANOTHER SOVEREIGN, must be ascribed more to their Republican principles, than to any remains of loyalty for their lawful Prince.

In this situation of affairs and opinions, it is matter of little surprize, that men who deny the authority of the State, should load the Legislature with opprobrious epithets. The Congress accordingly stigmatize Parliament with various charges of tyranny, violence, and oppression. Passing from this strain of general scurrility, they enter into warm encomiums on the ancestors of their Constituents. But they now deviate as much from truth in their applause, as they had done before in their censure. They affirm, that the ancestors of the Colonists obtained the lands which they have transmitted to the present race, "without any charge to the country from which they removed." Their very enemies could not wish to meet them on more advantageous ground. The sums expended upon the various Provinces, since their first establishment, for their ordinary support, government, and protection, have been so enormous, that without the authority

erty of incontestible vouchers, they could scarcely obtain credit *.

But, even granting that the Colonists had obtained their lands without any charge to the Mother-country, were they capable of keeping those lands without her assistance? Was it not to defend the Americans, that Great-Britain involved herself in the last expensive war? Did not those very "United Provinces," who now pretend to set the power of this Kingdom at defiance, lay themselves in the dust at her feet, to claim her aid and protection against a SINGLE Colony? Did they not complain in the same abject terms with the Britons of old, "That

* *An Account of what Sums have been granted to the different Provinces in North America, as far as it appears from the Estimates for the support of the Civil Government of each Province; and also what Sums have been granted for the Support of the Provincial Forces in North America.*

	L. s. d.
New York Forces - - -	339,055 16 8
Carolina in general - - -	43,024 9 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Georgia settling, and securing that Province - - -	250,853 4 6
— Military Expence of ditto	130,066 18 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
South Carolina Forces - - -	101,524 5 6
Nova Scotia Civil Government - -	1,358,240 17 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
East Florida Civil Government - -	59,300 0 0
West Florida Civil Government - -	64,324 13 6
America in general forces - -	172,999 0 0
Rewards and compensations - -	1,316,511 1 5
	<hr/>
	3,835,900 7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	" the

“ the Barbarians drove them into the sea,
 “ and that the sea drove them back on the
 “ Barbarians ?” Did not Great-Britain, like
 a Guardian Angel, stretch forth her hand to
 their aid ; and, by expelling their enemies
 from the Continent of America, rescue them,
 not only from danger, but the very fear of
 danger ? Did she not, over and above the
 many millions she expended upon the fleets
 and armies employed in defence of the Co-
 lonies, advance more than **ONE MILLION** to
 pay **THEIR** own native forces, employed in
THEIR OWN Cause † ?

Did not the Mother-country, with more
 than a mother’s fondness, upon all occasions
 nourish, cherish, and support this prodigal
 child, that left the house of his parent, “ to
 “ feed on husks with the swine of the de-
 “ fart ?” Has she not (to sum up the whole
 in one point of view) uniformly protected

† **GRANTS in PARLIAMENT for Rewards, Encou-
 ragement, and Indemnification to the Provinces in North
 America for their Services and Expences during the
 last War.**

Date of Votes.

L. s. d.

3 Febr. As a free Gift and Reward
 1756. to the Colonies of New-
 England, New-York, and
 Jersey, for their past services,
 and as an encouragement to
 them to continue to exert
 themselves with vigour, &c. 115,000 — —
 Date

[13]

the Colonies in war, encouraged their produce

Date of Votes.		£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	115,000	—	—
19 May, 1757.	For the use and relief of the Provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for services performed and to be performed with the approbation of the Commander in Chief in America, - - - - -	50,000	—	—
1 June, 1758.	To reimburse the Province of Massachusetts Bay their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them in 1756,	£. 27,380 19 11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
	To reimburse the Province of Connecticut their expences			
	forditto, £. 13,736 17 7	41,117	17	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
30 Apr. 1759.	As a compensation to the respective Colonies in North America for the expence of levying, cloathing and pay of the troops raised by them, &c.	200,000	—	—
31 Mar. 1760.	Ditto, - - - - -	200,000	—	—
	To the Colony of New York to reimburse their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them in 1756 - - -	2,977	7	8
		609,095	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
			Date	

C

duce with bounties in time of peace ‡, entered into all their quarrels with their neighbours, made their enemies her own; and,

		L. s. d.
Date of Votes.	Brought over,	609,095 5 2 <i>1</i>
20 Jan.	As a Compensation to the respective Colonies in North America, for the expence of levying, cloathing, and pay of the troops raised by them, &c.	200,000 —
26 Jan.	Ditto, - - -	133,333 6 8
1762.		
15 Mar.	Ditto, - - -	133,333 6 8
1763.		
22 Apr.	To reimburse the Province of	
1770.	New Hampshire their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for the Campaign in 1756	6,009 13 3
		<hr/> 1,081,771 11 9 <i>1</i>

‡ *An Account of Bounties on American Commodities.*

		L. s. d.
Bounty on Indico from 1749 to 1773 paid by Great Britain	- - -	145,022 3 4 <i>1</i>
Bounty on Hemp and Flax paid under the Act of 4 Geo. III. ch. 26. from 1766 to 1772	- - -	5,560 8 7 <i>1</i>
Bounty on Importation of Naval Stores from America, pursuant to the Act of the 3d of Queen Anne, from 1706 to 1729	- - -	430,178 4 6
Under the Act of 2d Geo. II. from 1729 to 1774	- - -	1,028,584 7 3
Besides other Bounties granted on		
Raw Silk		
Pipe Staves		
Hogshead Staves		
Barrel Staves		
Pipe, Hogshead, or Barrel-Heading.		

for

for their sake, has she not, in some degree, subjected herself to an annual tribute to Indian savages, in whom habitual injuries had raised an irreconcileable hatred to their oppressors? Did she not, too fatally, relinquish great advantages on every other side of a successful war, to eradicate the very seeds of future contests in America; and, by giving the Colonies unlimited security from ABROAD, procure for them that prosperity at HOME, which has encouraged them, like parricides, to raise the dagger against her own breast?

The Congress, in the next paragraph of their Declaration, affect to reprobate the last Peace, though they have derived so many and so great advantages from that treaty. The conduct of the Americans ought also to induce this Kingdom to regret the stipulations she made for their security. Had Canada remained in the hands of the French, the Colonies would have remained dutiful subjects. Their fears for themselves, in that case, would have supplied the place of their pretended affection for this Nation. They would have spoken more sparingly of their own resources, as they might daily stand in need of our aid. Their former incapacity of defending themselves would have always recurred to their minds, as long as the objects of their former terror should continue so near their borders. But their habitual fears from France were, it seems, removed only to

give room, to their ingratitude to Great-Britain.

The effrontery with which the Congress reprobate the late Peace, is scarcely equal to their folly in applauding the Minister who had carried on the war. With peculiar inconsistency they affect to commence an æra of "Public Ruin," from Mr. Pitt's resignation in 1761; yet the whole "object of their "wishes" is to be placed on the same footing as in the year 1763. They do not recollect, or rather they pretend to forget, that the most splendid actions in the war, happened after Mr. Pitt retired from his office. They are ignorant, or designedly conceal, that the commerce of this kingdom has amazingly encreased, and, in consequence, its revenue, since the æra from which they date public ruin. They know, or they ought, from their own experience, to know, that notwithstanding their shutting their ports against our manufactures, permanent and profitable sources of commerce have been opened in other quarters; that instead of being distressed by their present interruption to trade, our Merchants find themselves incapable of fulfilling their commissions from foreign states; that as the surest test of the flourishing condition of commerce, the course of exchange, to the amount of several per cents. is universally in favour of Great-Britain; and that, as the ultimate and invincible proof of the public prosperity, the confidence

confidence of the people in the measures of Government, and their contempt for the rebellious efforts of the refractory Colonies, the national Stocks suffer neither fluctuation nor fall in the price.

Having represented the pretended ruin brought upon the British Empire by the late Peace, the Congress descend to the fictitious grievances of America since the same period. They affirm, that "the Colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder." This figure of rhetoric, if it has any meaning, conveys one contrary to the truth. The Colonists having obtained such amazing advantages by a Peace, which they now reprobate, it was deemed just and proper by Mr. Grenville, then at the head of the Treasury, that they should bear a proportionable share of the national burdens incurred by the war. But as their prior inability to bear internal Taxes had precluded him from having a precedent, he only *threw out*, as it is vulgarly expressed, in the beginning of the year 1764, his intentions of raising a revenue in America by a Stamp-Duty, similar to that established in Great-Britain; referring the consideration of the whole affair to the next Session. His object was, to give time to the Colonies to propose some other mode of Taxation, should that suggested to Parliament appear either improper or burde-

some. During the whole of the summer 1764, though some discontented spirits murmured, not a single doubt was started against the ABSOLUTE RIGHT of Parliament to impose Taxes on every Member of the British Empire. The time allowed to the Colonies furnished them with no expedient for raising a tax more suitable to the purpose of a Revenue (which, by the bye, was to have been spent among themselves); and, therefore, in the beginning of the year 1765, the famous Stamp-Act was passed, against a very inconsiderable Minority, in both Houses of Parliament.

In this Kingdom, as well as in every State possessed of freedom, there are always to be found factious persons, who oppose every measure of Government. In their eagerness to disgrace the Minister, they too frequently obstruct the service, and defeat the interests of their Country. Every side of a speculative point is armed with arguments, that may impose on the ignorant, and encourage the sanguine. The Opposition in Parliament, in short, committed themselves, too far in favour of the prejudices of the Americans, with regard to the Stamp-Act, to support it with vigour, when they themselves, very unexpectedly *, came into Office,

* Lord Rockingham and others in Opposition came into office July 10, 1765, Grenville and his party having thrown themselves out of place on the Regency Bill.

a few months after it had passed into Law. Though their view of the object changed with their elevation, they found that the flame which their own factious speeches, in the preceding Session, had raised in America, was too vehement to be extinguished without either force or concessions. A natural timidity of disposition, joined to the common want of firmness which accompanies novelty in Office, rendered them inclinable to purchase present quiet for themselves, at the expence of the future advantage of their Country. But still they wavered on the point of irresolution, till Mr. Pitt's oratory weighed down the scale. The Stamp-Act was repealed; and from that moment may be dated "the "commencement of" what the Americans call "an *Aera of Public Ruin.*"

Great Britain and her Colonies derive their present dispute, and its consequent misfortunes, from the **PATRIOTISM** of the motley Junto who formed the appearance of an Administration, in the end of 1765 and beginning of 1766. Virginia had the **MERIT** of taking the lead in the disturbances in America, which succeeded the passing of the Stamp-Act. It was in the Assembly of that Province, that the first Resolutions were voted against the authority of Parliament, in the first Session, after intelligence of the Act was received. Though the meeting was very thin, the Resolutions passed only by a majority of two votes; and they would have been

been most certainly rejected, had it not been for the absence of forty of the old Members. When the Assembly was adjourned for the season, the people in general were dissatisfied with the conduct of their representatives. Every one expected, that, at the next meeting, an attempt would be made to erase the Resolutions from the Journals. But intelligence arrived, in the mean time, that the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Camden, General Conway, and the rest of the "illustrious Band" who had opposed the Stamp-Act in Parliament, were, by a strange revolution in politics, received into favour, and raised to office; and that Mr. Pitt, then at variance with his wife's relations, was resolved to oppose their FAVOURITE MEASURE, the Stamp-Act. The Virginians, deriving great hopes from this change, adhered to their Resolutions, and nothing further was done in the matter.

To enter minutely into the various motives of Mr. Pitt's oratory, for the total and absolute repeal of the Stamp-Act, would be to desert a great and public subject for the sake of tracing the private passions and interested views of an ambitious man. In his Argument, if what he advanced deserves the name, he fell in with the vulgar and, it may be said, false maxim, That no profit ought to be expected from the Colonies, but That resulting from their Commerce. This opinion of Mr. Pitt, whether it proceeded from ignorance

ignorance or design (and it probably proceeded from both), has formed a popular error in former times, as well as in the present age. Many, who have pretended to understand perfectly the affairs of this Kingdom, most firmly, but in my opinion very weakly, believed, that the great secret of our political interest consisted in forcing, in a manner, a monopoly of foreign commerce. It was from this persuasion, that the popular Orator used, upon the occasion just mentioned, a figure of rhetoric at once foolish and absurd, when he affirmed, that the Colonists should be prohibited "from manufacturing even the "hob-nail of a horse-shoe!" One might be tempted to ask the Orator, how this prohibitory mandate could be enforced; or if it could, whether it is less arbitrary, than to demand an *internal* tax from the Americans, for the support of their own government, and even for the general support of the State, and as a suitable return for the protection which they have ever derived from the Government of this kingdom?

The Congress had surely forgot this strange rhetorical figure of the great Orator, when they were tempted to date PUBLIC RUIN, from his resignation in 1761. They have also forgot, or they do not chuse to remember, that he acquiesced in the DECLARATORY BILL, brought in and passed by the Marquis of Rockingham's Party, who were in office, in the beginning of the year 1766.

This

This Bill expressly declares, " that all his Ma-
 " jesty's Colonies and Plantations in America
 " have been, are, and of right ought to be,
 " subordinate to and dependent upon the Im-
 " perial Crown and PARLIAMENT OF GREAT
 " BRITAIN ; who have full power and au-
 " thority to make laws and statutes of suffi-
 " cient validity to bind the Colonies and Peo-
 " ple of America, subjects of the Crown of
 Great Britain, IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER."

Mr. Pitt, to preserve some degree of con-
 sistency, objected to the words " IN ALL
 CASES WHATSOEVER." But his opposition
 was so languid, that he did not attend the
 House when the Bill was passed ; and only
 five Peers were found to follow his opinion,
 when it came under debate in the House
 of Lords.

" The Declaratory Act," as the American
 Congress affirms, " comprehends all the griev-
 ances of which " they complain." Yet that
 very Congress, with peculiar effrontery, not
 only approve, but even praise the conduct of
 the very Party by whom the Bill was intro-
 duced, and the MAN, by whose CRIMINAL
 ACQUIESCENCE (to use one of his own
 phrases) it passed into a law. THAT Party
 and THAT MAN, being now in opposition to
 Government, the Americans endeavour to
 secure their support, by flattering their va-
 nity at the expence of truth ! They forget
 past demerits in the hopes of present services.
 But when they expect to deceive a whole
 Party

Party into their interest, they themselves are made the tools of that Party; and, like the figure of the Negro, near Temple-bar, are turned round by the machine, which they pretend to move.

The Congress, in a strain of eloquent adulation, speaks with raptures of "that illustrious Band of distinguished Peers and Commoners," who now declaim, argue, and protest, in favour of their own Rebellion. It has appeared that the Act of which they most complain, was the manufacture of that very "illustrious Band," encouraged by the negative opposition made by the Earl of Chatham, whose advice the Band followed, as it soon after appeared, to their own political destruction. Besides, was it not under the Administration of the Earl of Chatham, in the years 1767 and 1768, though the Americans date their misfortunes from the resignation of Mr. Pitt in October 1761, that the Bills imposing internal duties, and consequently establishing internal Taxation in America, were passed into laws*? Did not the present Administration, whose measures the Congress affect to reprobate throughout, repeal all those Acts, except the duty on Tea†, to gratify the prejudices of the Americans, and, if possible, to re-establish tranquility in all the Provinces? With what colour of reason, therefore, can the Americans lay the

* 7 Geo. III. Ch. 46.

† 10 Geo. III.

blame

blame either of their real or pretended grievances on the Noblemen and Gentlemen now in office ; and yet approve of the conduct of those very persons who passed the Declaratory Act, and followed it with Bills of imposts raised in the Colonies ?

In reprobating the Declaratory Act, the Congress recur to their usual maxim, That Taxation and Representation are inseparable. Though it has been already shewn, that they are as much represented as twenty-four in twenty-five of the inhabitants of Great-Britain ; though it has been proved, that whole Provinces, not represented, had been for several ages subjected to imposts laid by the Legislature ; though it shall, hereafter, appear that they themselves have been uniformly taxed by the British Parliament ; this argument they hold forth as invincible, and found upon it their present resistance to the supremacy of the Parent-kingdom. In pursuing it injudiciously and too far, they actually discover the expediency, and even necessity of that supremacy, of which they so loudly complain. The Parliament of Great-Britain, say they, will certainly perceive, “ that an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, will actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increase ours.” But is it not equitable, is it not just, is it not necessary, that all the subjects of the empire should bear, as equally as possible,

possible, the public burdens of the empire? Why should the Americans, who have so largely, so uniformly, and so effectually experienced the protection of Government, be the only persons exempted from paying their share of its expences? Is it either reasonable or suitable to the common usage of Nations, that those who desert their country should enjoy greater privileges than those that remain? The Americans having been spared during the infancy of their Colonies on account of their poverty, endeavour to establish into an inherent right what was actually an indulgence.

Though this indulgence has been a source of error to the more ignorant part of the Americans, there are surely many among them who know, that Parliament hath been uniformly accustomed to extend its supremacy over all the Colonies. In matters of revenue, in commerce, in civil, in all judicial regulations; and, in short, with regard to the general constitution of their government, the Provinces of North-America, till taught otherwise by a disappointed Faction in this Kingdom, allowed, that the whole fabrick of their polity might be new-modelled and reformed by the superintending power of Parliament. In fact, it has been so new-modelled and reformed, whenever abuses in the Administration of their Government, under their civil polity, or the general interest of the British Empire, made it necessary for Par-

D
liament

liament to interpose its authority. Instances of this interposition, in both cases, present themselves, in almost every volume of the Statutes, from the Restoration down to the present reign; yet the Americans falsely insinuate, that it was in the present reign the exercise of the authority of Parliament (except only in the regulation of trade) first commenced.

A brief recital of some of those instances may throw light on a subject, rendered obscure and perplexed by the prejudices of the ignorant, and the arts of designing men. To gain the ears of the Populace, by awakening their ancient jealousies, the Americans affect to ascribe the present system of measures to principles of Toryism, which, they pretend, prevail in our Councils. But, unfortunately for this part of their plan of deception, it will appear, that most of the Acts which bind America in coercive regulations, were passed soon after the Revolution, in the reign of the very Prince, who brought about that great event. The WHIG Ministers of King William (perceiving that the Colonies, even then, had entertained views of placing themselves on a ground of independence on Parliament) advised their Sovereign, and their advice now stands on record, to pursue measures, which, in their consequence, should effectually secure their thorough dependence on the Legislature of this Kingdom.

In consequence of the advice given by a WHIG Ministry to a King who had mounted the throne upon WHIG principles; and also upon the fullest evidence of the frauds and abuses committed in the Plantations, in violation of the Act of Navigation; the Act of the 7th and 8th of William III. "for preventing frauds, and regulating abuses, in the Plantations" was passed. By that Act, a power was given to the Commissioners of the Treasury and Customs in England, "to establish ports, " and appoint Officers, in the Plantations; and "those Officers to have the same authority for visiting ships and goods, and entering houses and warehouses, as was exercised by the same Officers in England."

All penalties and forfeitures were made recoverable in the Courts at Westminster, or in Courts of Admiralty, in the Plantations; which Courts were then, for the *first time*, established throughout all America. In any action or suit concerning his Majesty's Duties, the offence might be laid in any precinct or division of the Plantations, where the same should be alledged to have been committed, at the discretion of the Officer or Informer. All laws, by-laws, usages and customs repugnant to any laws of Great Britain which relate to the Plantations, or mention the same, are declared "illegal, null, and void." Many other restrictions, too

tedious to be mentioned, were at the same time enacted and imposed.

But it was not in matters of Trade ONLY, that Parliament, during the reign of King William, superintended and controuled the Colonies. The Colonists, it was found, had encouraged Pirates, in various places; and no justice could be obtained in THEIR Courts, against offenders, whom they openly abettet. To remedy this shameful abuse, a remarkable Act was passed, in the 11th and 12th of William III. This Act abolished all jurisdiction in that case, in the Courts in the Plantations. The WHOLE power of trying such offences, in the Colonies, was vested in Commissioners, appointed under the Great Seal of England, or Seal of the Admiralty, according to the course of the Admiralty, that is to say, WITHOUT JURY. The Commissioners were also impowered to issue warrants, in any of the Colonies, for arresting such Pirates or their accessaries. They might, at discretion, either try the criminals in America, or send them to England to be tried. Should the Governors of any Charter or Proprietary Government refuse to assist the Commissioners; should any person in authority in the Colonies refuse to pay obedience to the Act; such refusal, in either case, was declared to be forfeiture of the Charter.

An Act passed in the 10th and 11th year of the same reign, confines the advantage of the Fishery of Newfoundland to British ships fitted

fitted out from Great-Britain. The execution of the orders and regulations respecting that Fishery, was placed in the hands of the Admirals, in the respective harbours; that is to say, in the hands of the Master of the ship that should first arrive from Great-Britain. The decision in all questions of civil suit is vested in such Admirals, with appeal to the Commander of the King's ships. All criminal offences are to be tried in any County of England, by the King's Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Goal delivery.

The opinions of this Nation concerning the Government of the Colonies, may be collected from the above Acts. The authority of Parliament to bind America, in all cases whatsoever, and whenever the general interest of the whole Empire required it, was never disputed; and it was often exerted to correct abuses, and to suppress the ideas of independence, which began, even then, to be cherished by the Colonies. The same principles and the same policy were carried down by Parliament through the three succeeding reigns of Queen Anne, and of George I. and George II. Early in the first of those reigns, the grossest abuses were committed by the petty Legislatures in the Colonies, with respect to Coin. The interposition of Parliament became necessary to correct those abuses. An Act was passed in the reign of Queen Anne, for that purpose; when the Councils of that Princess were guided by

Whigs. By this Act the rates of Foreign Coin, in the Plantations, were ascertained, and a severe punishment was inflicted on those who should take them at higher rates. The American Trade was placed in the same reign under further restrictions, by Act of Parliament. Rice and Molasses were added to the list of enumerated commodities. In the reign of George I. Furs and Copper-ore of the Plantations were subjected to the same restrictions.

The British Parliament confined not to Acts their sense of the undoubted right they possessed of controlling the Colonies, in all cases whatsoever. In the Journals of both Houses, there are many Proceedings which furnish proofs of their undeviating adherence to the same principles. In the year 1702, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, for abolishing all the Charter and Proprietary Governments in America, and reuniting them to the Crown. In 1705, the House of Lords came to several Resolutions on the subject of laws enacted in several of those Governments. They declared those laws to be repugnant to the laws of England, and destructive to the Constitution. This proceeding was likewise followed by a Bill for abolishing those Charters.

These Bills, it must be confessed, were not carried into laws. But they did not fail, through any doubt entertained by the Legislature against their propriety. They were

lost through a change in the situation of those, who brought forward the measure. That the opinion of the Legislature continued the same on this subject, is evident; as the same proposition was again taken up in the year 1716; when a WHIG Ministry governed the Kingdom.

In the reign of George II. the instances of the controuling authority of Parliament over the Colonies, are more numerous and striking. By an Act of the 2d of George II. Chap. 35. severe prohibitions and penalties are imposed and inflicted on such persons as shall cut and destroy white Pine-trees, tho' such Pines are growing within the limits of a Township already granted; and these penalties are directed to be sued for and recovered in the Courts of Admiralty. The Merchants of Great-Britain having, in the 5th of the same reign, preferred a Petition to Parliament, complaining of the difficulties they met with in the recovery of debts in the Plantations; an Act was passed, which subjected all real Estates in the Colonies to just debts and demands; and to be assets, in the same manner as in England, for the satisfaction of debts due by Bond. The exportation of Hats from any of the Colonies, and even the conveyance of them by land from one Colony to another, is prohibited, under severe penalties, by an Act passed in the same Session.

In the year 1733 the Province of Massachusett's-Bay presented a Petition to the House

House of Commons, praying that they might be heard by Counsel on the subject of Grievances. The chief of those was, "That the Crown had restrained their "Governour, by "instructions, in certain cases relative to the "issue and disposal of Public Money, and the "emission of Paper-Bills of Credit." The Commons, having considered the matter, came to a Resolution, "That the Petition "was frivolous and groundless, a high in- "sult upon his Majesty's Government, and "tending to SHAKE OFF THE DEPENDENCY "of the said Colony upon this Kingdom, "to which in LAW AND RIGHT THEY OUGHT "TO BE SUBJECT." Complaint having, at the same time, been made to the House, "That the Representatives of that Colony had "CENSURED a person for giving evidence, "before a Committee of the House, in the "case of a Bill then depending in Parlia- "ment;" it was resolved, "That the pas- "sing such censure was an AUDACIOUS "PROCEEDING, and a high violation of the "privileges of the House." A Committee was accordingly appointed to enquire who were the abettors of this unwarrantable proceeding.

We may perceive, from the above circumstance, how jealous Parliament HAVE BEEN of their supremacy and uncontrollable authority over the Colonies. Another instance must carry the proof of this position beyond the power of reply. In the year 1740, the House

House of Commons entered into a consideration of "the abuses committed in the Colonies, in respect to the emission of Paper Bills of Credit." After a long examination, they came to various Resolutions. They resolved, "That the Act passed in the 6th of Queen Anne, ascertaining the rates of Foreign Coin in America, had not been duly observed. That many indirect practices, in that respect, had been introduced, contrary to the true intent of the Act. That an Address should be presented to his Majesty to require the Governors of his Colonies to take effectual measures for the strict observance of the Act of the 6th of Queen Anne. That another Address should be presented, requesting his Majesty to issue his Royal Proclamation, to settle and ascertain the rates of Foreign Gold Coins. That the CREATING and issuing Bills of Credit, in the British Colonies, by virtue of Acts of Assembly, had frustrated the design of the Act of the 6th of Queen Anne. That an humble Address of Thanks should be presented to his Majesty, for the orders he has already given on that head; and, That he should also be requested to require and command the Governors of the respective Provinces, not to give their assent to any Act, whereby Bills of Credit might be issued in lieu of Money."

These

These spirited Resolutions of the Commons checked, for some time, the abuses in the emission and circulation of Paper-Money. The New-England Governments, however, did not continue long to pay any regard to ROYAL INSTRUCTIONS, though supported and enforced by the authority of the House of Commons. The frauds committed awakened again the attention of Parliament. In the 24th of George II. an Act was passed, "to regulate and restrain Paper-bills of Credit in the Four New-England Governments." The Governors of those Colonies were prohibited, under pain of being removed from their Governments, and for ever rendered incapable of any public office or place of trust, from assenting to any Act, Order, or Vote, for the issue of any Paper-bills of Credit; and all such Acts, Orders, or Votes, were declared to be, *ipso facto*, null and void.

In the year 1741 the Colonies took up the idea of a LAND-BANK, which had proved so unsuccessful in England in the reign of King William. The "American Assemblies," it appeared to Parliament, "had PRESUMED to publish a scheme for sup-
plying a pretended want of a medium in trade, for setting up a Bank on land security, and to solicit subscriptions." To correct this evil, an Act was passed, in the 14th of George II. "to restrain and prevent such unwarrantable practices; and to extend

“ extend to America, the penalties inflicted
“ by a Statute of the 6th of George I. on
“ persons guilty of such practices in these
“ kingdoms.” They were also subjected, by
the same Act, to the penalty and forfeiture
ordained by the Statute of Provision and
PREMUNIRE of the 16th of Richard II.

There are several other Statutes by which
Parliament with equal force assert their au-
thority over the Colonies. In some of these
they carry this authority beyond the limits,
with which they have hitherto circumscribed
it in this Kingdom. In the 29th of George
II. cap. 35. Officers of the Army are em-
powered to enlist, in the Colonies, apprentices
and indented servants. The persons so en-
listed were exempted from arrests in civil
actions, where the value of the action ex-
ceeds not ten pounds. To these striking
instances of the controuling power of Parlia-
ment over the Colonies, may be added the
Act of 23d of George II. cap. 29. By that Act,
“ every person erecting or working any mill
“ or other engine for slitting or rolling iron,
“ or any plating forge or furnace for making
“ steel, is subjected to a penalty of 200l.
“ to be recovered in any of the Courts in
“ Westminster-Hall, or in the Court of Ex-
“ chequer in Scotland.”

The foregoing recital of Statutes binding
the Colonies, prior to the present reign, of
which the Congress so much complain, is
sufficient to convince the dispassionate, that
the

the controuling power of Parliament has been perpetually exerted, and never disputed. There is hardly any object of Legislation in which the laws of this Country have not bound America. The Congress, whilst they affect to disavow the supremacy of the British Legislature, acknowledge that supremacy, perhaps thro' inadvertence, in its utmost latitude. They own themselves the subjects of the King of Great Britain; yet it was the British Legislature that placed his Majesty and his family on the Throne. Were the Colonies represented in the Parliament which limited the succession of the Crown to the House of Hanover, any more than they were in THAT which laid a paltry Duty on tea in the Ports of America? His Majesty owes his Throne to the Laws of England; and, as King, he can have no subject that is not bound by that law.

Taxation has been purposely omitted in the above detail. That article, as the great object of contest, ought to be separately stated. The several instances of the exercise of the power of Parliament, in that case, shall be, therefore, thrown into one Point of view. The first instance of Taxation is the Act of the 12th of Charles II. for granting to the Crown a duty of Tonnage and Poundage. This Act is in point. It directs, that the duties abovementioned " shall be payable " upon commodities not only imported into " the realm of England, but also into the

" DOMI-

“ DOMINIONS THEREUNTO BELONGING.” The Colonies are here included in express words. It is true, indeed, that the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage were NOT collected in America. The reason was, that the commerce of the Plantations was so inconsiderable, that the revenue arising from it could not pay the expence of collection.

But whatever might have been the reason for NOT collecting the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage in the Colonies, the Law was certainly understood to extend to America. In the year 1680, the Assembly of the Island of Jamaica refused “ to raise levies for the support of Government.” Upon this refusal, the Lords of the Council made a Minute “ to confer with the Judges upon the question : Whether the subsidies upon the Tonnage and Poundage upon goods that may by Law, or shall be directly carried to Jamaica, be not payable, according to Law, by his Majesty’s subjects inhabiting that Island, or trading there, by virtue of the Acts of Tonnage and Poundage, or other Acts made in England?” Unfortunately it does not appear, whether the conference was ever held ; or if it was actually held, what was the result.

The 25th of Charles II. cap. 7. is the next Act that binds America, in point of Taxation. By that Act certain duties are made payable in the Plantations, upon sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, logwood,

logwood, fustic, and other dying woods, and cocoa-nuts exported to any other place, except England. These Duties continue to be paid to this day.

In the 9th of Queen Anne, an Act was passed, imposing certain Duties on all prize-goods taken in America, and imported into any of the Colonies. These Duties were as follows : “ All European goods (wine and brandy excepted) which have been usually sent to the Plantations, are to pay THERE such Customs, as are payable for the like goods imported into the Plantations from Great Britain. Other goods taken as prizes shall be liable THERE to such Duties as were payable for the same, by any Act of Assembly, in the said Plantations.”

To these Acts, subjecting his Majesty’s subjects in America to Taxes imposed by the British Parliament, several others may be added. The Act of the 9th of Queen Anne, for establishing a Post-office. The various Acts passed for levying and enforcing the collection of the duty of sixpence per month, out of Seamen’s wages, for the support of Greenwich Hospital. All these Acts extend to America. They bind the Colonies as well as the Mother-Country. Their authority was never disputed; and the Taxes imposed by them have been uniformly raised. The Act of the 2d of George II. cap. 7. is still more explicit and decisive in the words.

It

It requires the payment of the Duties for Greenwich Hospital, " by seamen belonging to American ships, whether employed upon the high seas, or in any port, harbour, bay or creek, within ANY of the Colonies."

It appears from this detail of facts, that the right of Parliament to bind the Colonies, in all cases whatsoever, is not a claim founded on mere theory : on the contrary, that the controlling power of the Legislature is warranted by constant usage, and uninterrupted practice. That the Declaratory Act, of which the Americans complain, contains no new, no assumed powers over the Plantations ; and that there is scarce any channel of Legislation, through which the British Parliament has NOT exerted its supremacy, in as full and ample a manner as it has been exerted over the inhabitants of Great-Britain ; and all this prior to the present reign, in which the Congress place the commencement of " Public Ruin."

The American Congress, with a partiality for themselves scarcely consistent with their design of gaining others, in the next paragraph of their Declaration, call the Acts, which were the CONSEQUENCE of the resistance of their constituents, the CAUSE of their rebellion. In descending to particulars, their first complaint is stated against " the extension of the jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their

“ former limits ;” by which, they alledge, “ the subject is deprived of his inherent “ right of a trial by Jury.” The Congress surely forget, or it is not consistent with their design to remember, that the alterations of which they complain were made at the request of their constituents. The reasons assigned for this request were, that the Courts of Admiralty established formerly in the various Provinces, possessed so little dignity, on account of the dependence and poverty of the Judges, that justice was either sacrificed to connexions, or biased by avarice. Besides that, Appeals to Great-Britain could be seldom made, on account of the expence and distance. To remedy this evil, the present establishment of Courts of Admiralty in America was formed. Four great Courts of Vice-Admiralty were erected. The Judges were rendered independent by ample salaries. The line of Appeal became short, easy, and obvious ; and as to trial by Jury, the whole world knows that the Court of Admiralty in England never admitted that mode of trial in CIVIL cases.

The complaint of the Congress, with regard to the Bill for shutting the Port of Boston, is ridiculous as well as unjust, as the inhabitants of that place had it in their own power to remove the grievance. The destruction of the East-India Company’s tea, at Boston, is well known to have been the deliberate act of a very great majority of the

the inhabitants. To obtain reparation by the common course of law was impossible, where the number of the offenders screened them effectually from justice. It was a public crime, and the punishment ought to have been general. In pursuance of that plan of tenderness, which has been fatally lost on the Americans, the Bill for suspending the trade of Boston was rendered conditional. A door was left open for an immediate reconciliation, should the Assembly of Massachusett's-Bay make a public grant, for repairing the damage sustained, by a Company of Merchants, through a public outrage. Yet the Congress stigmatize with the name of injustice, a coercive Statute rendered absolutely necessary by the shameless depredations of the inhabitants of Boston; and which Statute, they themselves had it in their power to terminate, in an instant, by doing an act of common justice.

But why should we expect common justice towards others, among a people, who (with regard to the Tea-Act) have been manifestly unjust to themselves? It is of the Duty on Tea, the Americans principally complain; yet they submitted to a Duty of 7 l. per Ton, laid on Wines, the Session which immediately preceded the passing of the Tea-Act. The Duty on Tea was also submitted to in all the Provinces where that commodity had not been usually introduced by Smuggling. Boston itself, and even Mr. John Han-

cock (now PRESIDENT of the Congress, but formerly a most notorious SMUGGLER), originally made no objection to the Act. It was when the East-India Company, by adopting the plan of sending Tea to America in their own name, gave the finishing blow to Smuggling, that the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay determined to oppose the Duty. Prior to the Act for laying the THREE-PENCE Duty on Tea, payable in the Colonies, the Americans actually paid a SHILLING, together with the profit of the Merchant. Formerly all Tea exported to the Plantations went encumbered with a Shilling, paid by the East-India Company. In other words, the Duty was not drawn back on exportation; so that, by the Act, the consumer is a gainer of a Shilling in every pound of Tea, if to the nine-pence duty we should add commission, insurance, freight, and profit. Smugglers found themselves incapable of carrying on their contraband commerce; and they inflamed an ignorant rabble, to serve their own interest, or to gratify their own revenge.

With equal effrontery, and with still less reason, the Congress exclaim against the alteration made in the form of the government of Boston. With their usual fallacy in argument the Americans wish to establish it as a maxim in polity, That Charters granted by the CROWN, can neither be reversed or altered by the LEGISLATURE. They might as well go at once to the whole supremacy; and save themselves

themselves the trouble of thus supporting a cause untenable on any other grounds. The three branches of the Legislature united make daily alterations in the Constitution of Great Britain ; and, if their Supremacy extends over the whole empire, they have the same right to alter the constitution of the American Colonies. If the Americans deny this position, all argument is at an end ; and they avow an independence, which, in **THEIR** circumstances, marks them out for enemies. After all, this alteration of which the Congress affect to complain, is no more than putting the inhabitants of Massachuset's-Bay on the same footing with the other Colonies. They have received in miniature the counter-part of the constitution of the Mother-Kingdom ; and have **THEY**, a right, or can **THEY** wish to be more free than the freest nation in the world ?

The Act for regulating the Government of Quebec, furnishes the Congress with an ample field for declamation. To inveigh against Popery and Arbitrary Power has been ever a favourite topic with men, who wish to profit by the prejudices of the people. Had the Congress attended to the general principles of the British Constitution, they might have informed themselves, that His Majesty, without the interposition of the two other branches of the Legislature, might have permitted the inhabitants of Canada to remain for ever under French laws.

laws. There is no maxim in the Law of England more generally known or less controverted than, That in conquered or ceded countries, which have already laws of their own, such laws remain in full force, till they are altered and changed by the Sovereign. Had His Majesty, therefore, entertained such designs as the Congress obliquely lay to his charge, why should he call in the aid of the Legislature to execute what was already done by the Common Law? The Congress will not, surely, affirm, that the system of government established by the Legislature in Quebec, is so arbitrary in itself, or so fit for the purposes of despotism, as the Constitution which subsisted in that Province under the French. Ought they not to consider, that no other form of government could have been established, so suitable to the disposition of the inhabitants, the tenures of their property, and the toleration of their religion, to all which they had an undoubted right, by the terms of their Capitulation, and the articles of the subsequent Treaty of Peace?

The Opposition at HOME, as well as the Patriots ABROAD, have found an extensive subject for pathetic eloquence, in the form of Government now established by Law in Canada. The FORMER have either very treacherous memories, or they change without any ceremony their opinions with their situation. Under the Administration of the EARL of

CHATHAM,

CHATHAM, Mr. Morgan, Lord SHELBOURNE's Secretary, was sent PRIVATELY to America, as Commissioner, to settle and regulate a new code for the Government of Quebec. The Governor and Chief Justice of that Province, if I am not mistaken, were joined with Morgan in this SECRET, but important commission. The measure, it is said, was considered by the Board of Trade; it was certainly debated, if not adopted by the Cabinet, as far back as the year 1767, during the plenitude of the Earl of Chatham's power. Lord Camden was Chancellor, and gave his sanction to regulations MORE ALLIED TO DESPOTISM than those he reprobates at present. The Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Shelburne, General Conway, and several others of "that illustrious Band," on whose virtues the Americans expatiate with rapture, approved this POPISH, ARBITRARY, TYRANNICAL system of Government *: yet all these are, now, true Americans, strenuous Protestants, Whigs of the ancient mould, determined assertors of public freedom, avowed enemies to OPPRESSION, POPERY, and ARBITRARY POWER!

The Congress enumerate, among their complaints against the British Legislature, the Resolution of Parliament to give its due force to an un-repealed Statute passed in the

* Lord Rockingham had the merit of sending a *Popish* Bishop to Quebec.

time of Henry VIII. It is declared in the Resolution, that upon this Statute, treasons and misprisions of treason committed in any of his Majesty's dominions beyond sea, subject to the Crown of Great-Britain, may be tried in England. Though this Resolution is considered by the Congress as a part of the ideal system of enslavement, with which they charge the King and Parliament, it contains no novelty, no uncommon stretch of law. A thousand instances of the same kind are upon record, long before the present disputes with America began. One instance is extremely remarkable; I mean, the transactions in the Case of the Insurrection in Antigua, in the year 1711. All the proceedings were founded on the Act of Henry VIII. Some of the Insurgents were sent to England; they were tried upon that Statute and that circumstance has established a precedent which cannot be controverted. But had even a new law of this kind been made, what reason could the American Congress have to complain? Have not the prejudices, insurrections, and even rebellion of their own countrymen totally interrupted the common course of justice over all the vast Continent which they inhabit; and shall the generality of the crime be admitted a competent excuse against punishment?

From condemning the Acts of the Legislature, the Congress pass to complaints against their Sovereign, as well as his principles.

cipal servants. They alledge, that the " Americans have incessantly and ineffectually besieged the Throne for ten years ;" yet conceal the reason, which was, That their demands, rather than requests, were such as the Sovereign could not grant, consistent with the powers vested in him by the Constitution. They complain, that fleets and armies have been sent to their country, to enforce the coercive laws enacted by the Legislature, for the establishment of its supremacy ; yet they pass over in silence the outrages committed by themselves, which rendered that measure necessary. Did they not draw the sword with one hand, when the other was stretched forth with Petitions for relief from pretended grievances ? Did they not purchase arms, ammunition, and artillery, form magazines, enlist soldiers, and prepare, in every respect, for rebellion and war, when they affected to speak the language of submission and peace ?

All these are facts that cannot be controverted. The Congress know the truth, but pursue their plan of deception. " They hoped in vain," they say, " for moderation in their enemies ;" yet their own conduct has been one continued series of violence, oppression, and injustice. Having disclaimed their allegiance to the Sovereign, disobeyed the acts of the Legislature, destroyed the property, and insulted the persons of the servants of the State, assumed the functions of

of sovereignty, and rushed into actual rebellion ; they complain of a want of moderation in Government, for exerting the power vested in it by the Constitution, for restoring tranquillity, enforcing legal submission to the laws of the State, and for protecting the injured and punishing the guilty.

Throughout the whole of their strange Declaration, the American Congress appear to adapt their reasonings to the weakness of the prejudiced, and their facts to the credulity of the ignorant. They affirm, that they have uniformly endeavoured to procure an accommodation with the Mother-Country ; yet they reprobate the Resolution of the Commons, on the 20th of February, which opened a fair channel for agreement. They call the Resolution “ an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide the Americans, and to establish a perpetual auction of taxation, where Colony should bid against Colony, all of them uninformed what ransom should redeem their lives ; and thus to extort from them, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify Ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left them of raising, in their own mode, the prescribed tribute.” We may learn, from this tedious and involved sentence, how much the Congress have profited by the Speeches of Patriotism in the British Parliament. A noted Orator, who has

has been suspected of having penned the DECLARATORY BILL, (which, the Congress alledge, contains the whole mass of American grievances) used almost the same words in the House of Commons, on the day the Resolution came under debate. But former demerits have been forgot, in what the American Demagogues foolishly construe into present services.

To shew the nature of the Proposition which the Congress stigmatize with the name of an "infidious manœuvre," some previous facts must be explained. On the second of February, a Motion was made in the House of Commons, for an Address to his Majesty, which was soon after presented, with the concurrence of the Lords. In this Address, the two Houses having stated some facts, were induced to declare, that a rebellion actually existed at that time in the Province of Massachusett's-bay: That this conduct was the more inexcusable, when it was considered with how much temper his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament had acted, in support of the Laws and Constitution of Great-Britain: That they were resolved never so far to desert the trust reposed in them, as to relinquish ANY PART of the SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY over ALL his MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS, which the law invested in his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament: That the conduct of the Americans was sufficient to convince them

of the necessity of this supremacy and power: That, however, they had always been, and always should be ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances, which should be laid before them in a **DUTIFUL** and **CONSTITUTIONAL** manner: That they requested his Majesty to take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the Supreme Legislature: And that they were resolved, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to support his Majesty against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the just rights of his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament.

In this Address the two Houses of Parliament, while they held forth the Sword in one hand, evidently tendered the Olive-branch with the other. The Americans themselves were made the arbiters of their own fate. The choice of war or peace was left in their own hands. But as the offer of Parliament to listen to the real grievances of the Colonists was deemed too general to form a foundation for an agreement between them and the Mother-Country, the Minister, wishing to conciliate matters with America, even contrary to the opinion of many Friends to this Country, laid before the House of Commons some **EXPLICIT PROPOSITIONS**, which might answer that end. Accordingly, on the twentieth of February, the following Propositions were introduced to a Committee of

of the whole House, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer: " That it is the opinion of " this Committee, that when the Governor, " Council, and Assembly, or General Court " of his Majesty's Provinces or Colonies shall " propose to make provision according to " their respective conditions, circumstances, " and situations, for contributing their " proportion to the common defence; such " proportion to be raised under the authori- " ties of the General Court, or General As- " sembly of such Province or Colony, and " disposable by Parliament; and shall engage " to make provision also for the support of " the Civil Government, and the admini- " stration of justice in such Province or " Colony; it will be proper, if such pro- " posal shall be approved by his Majesty in " Parliament, and for so long as such pro- " vision shall be made accordingly, to forbear " in respect of such Province, or Colony, to " levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to " impose any further duty, tax, or assess- " ment, except only such duties as it may be " expedient to impose for the regulation of " Commerce; the nett produce of the duties " last mentioned, to be carried to the account " of such Province, Colony, or Plantation " respectively."

This Resolution, which was carried by a great majority, plainly marked the ground for a negotiation, and an equitable agreement with the Colonies. It was moderate, com-

prehensive, and explicit. It named the persons from whom the proposals must come, and those to whom they were to be made. The end and purpose of the Contribution were explained. The appropriation of the expected revenue was specified, and precluded every suspicion of its being misapplied. Though the offer was conditional, it was plainly conclusive, as long as the Americans themselves should adhere to the agreement. They had it in their power to tax themselves, the great point for which they professed to contend; and the only right reserved by the Legislature was, to determine the QUANTUM of the supply; and they alone can determine it, as being the supreme power, who are the sole judges of what is necessary to support the State. The Proposition, upon the whole, was AT LEAST as favourable to the pretensions of the Americans, as to the claims of the Mother-Country. The former, therefore, must have accepted the proposal, had what they held forth to the Public formed the real principles of their opposition.

The Minority in Parliament, who deemed nothing so fatal to their own views, as an agreement with the Americans, upon equitable, and consequently permanent terms, opposed this Proposition as insidious in its nature, and for that purpose rendered obscure and perplexed in its language. The American Demagogues, whose influence can only

only exist in the midst of anarchy and confusion, opposed it with similar views. The latter, indeed, have approved so much of the SENTIMENTS, or rather PROFESSIONS of the former, that they have, in their Declaration, echoed back their very words in Parliament. The argument before went only to the claim of the Americans to be permitted, in their Assemblies, to settle the mode of Taxation. They then demanded an exclusive privilege of fixing the amount or quantum of the supply; and now they will give no supply at all. But if neither the mode nor the QUANTUM is to be left in the power of Parliament, what power has Parliament left, with regard to the taxing of the Americans? Dought the BRITISH LEGISLATURE to lay HUMBLY the wants of the Public before the PETTY LEGISLATURES of America, and request *their* aid for the general support of Government? What would this be, but the total emancipation of the Colonies from that supremacy for which we contend?

The Americans formerly declared themselves willing to contribute to the exigences and expences of the State, provided the demand should come by requisition from the King, and not by an immediate exertion of Parliamentary authority. This offer his Majesty declined, with that patriotism which has uniformly marked his own measures, during his reign. Anxious for the happiness of ALL his subjects, he chose to be the Monarch of

ONE great and free nation, rather than the Sovereign of a number of petty States, weakened by their own disunion. Had his Majesty been actuated by those motives of ambition, which are not uncommon among Princes, he would have eagerly closed with the offers of the Americans. Instead of making himself dependent, for the maintenance of his dignity, upon the grants of ONE Assembly, he might have extricated himself from even the fear of pecuniary difficulties, by a proper management of many Assemblies. The Representatives of one Province might be gratified into the views of the Crown, from the revenue of another; British Members might receive the wages of corruption in America; and American Representatives be sent for the price of their votes to this Kingdom.

But succeeding events have demonstrated, that the Americans were not sincere, in any one of their declarations, in favour of an amicable accommodation. The Propositions voted on the 20th of February, came up to their own former demands; yet they evaded them, by treating them as insidious. The truth is, they knew their own demerits towards this Country, and they could not believe, that proposals so highly favourable could have been, on her part, sincere. One good, however, has resulted from the Propositions. The Colonies, by rejecting them, have left no doubt remaining concerning their real intentions. They confine no longer

their

their claims to the exclusive privilege of taxing themselves. They aim, evidently, at a total independence in all matters whatsoever; and more particularly with regard to the Act of Navigation. They have long made secret but most dangerous encroachments on this PALLADIUM of our Commerce. They now publickly avow their resolution to pay no regard to any Parliamentary restrictions, whether ancient or recent, on THEIR Commerce. They now openly trade all over Europe; and the obtaining the privilege, which they have, at length, usurped, has been the primary cause of their resistance to Parliament. The manufacturers and merchants of this Country have been long no strangers to this American policy; yet the Congress have the effrontery to expect, that the mercantile interest of Great Britain will espouse their cause.

The American Congress, having in a loose, cursory, and superficial manner, advanced some pretended arguments to justify their rebellion, descend to the misrepresentation of facts, with the same design. They affirm, "That General Gage, who had occupied Boston as a garrison, sent out a large detachment of his army, on the 19th of April, "who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the Province of Boston, "at Lexington." On this allegation of the Congress it may be remarked, that the rebellious conduct of the Town of Boston, where

where all the authority of legal government had been long extinguished by the tyranny of a rabble instigated by factious leaders, had rendered a force necessary in that place, to restore order and tranquillity, to protect the innocent, and to restrain the excesses of the turbulent and guilty. That the military preparations made in all parts of the Province, and especially at the Town of Concord, with the avowed intention of opposing all legal authority, induced and even forced General Gage (though fatally too late) to send out a detachment of the troops under his command, to prevent hostilities, by seizing the means of carrying them on. That some of the Inhabitants of the Province, in "warlike array," stood in the way of this detachment, with arms in their hands ; and that when ordered to remove in a peaceable manner, they made "an unprovoked assault" on his Majesty's troops, by firing FIRST upon them, and killing some, and wounding many.

The audacity of the Congress, in asserting FALSEHOODS, demands a brief detail of the TRUTH. General Gage, having been informed that arms, ammunition, cannon, and other implements of war, had been collected in the town of Concord, ordered a detachment of the Army to march with all possible secrecy to that place. He gave orders to the detachment, to observe the most strict discipline, and to resent no insults offered them by the country people, except actual hostilities.

The General's orders were, in truth, too implicitly observed. There was not one LOADED MUSQUET in the whole detachment, except those in the hands of FIFTY Marines, who formed the van, when they were FIRED upon, by the country people, at Lexington. The affidavits of the rebels, on this subject, are impositions and perjuries. There is not a man, whether officer or soldier, in the whole detachment, consisting of 800 men, but is ready, in the most solemn manner, to attest the truth of this fact.

It were to be wished, for the honour of the insurgents, that their BARBAROUS CRUELTY to the wounded soldiers, were more problematical than their firing FIRST on the King's troops. The soldiers who fell by the first fire of the rebels, were found scalped, when the detachment returned, from Concord to Lexington Bridge. Two soldiers who lay wounded on the field, and had been scalped by the savage provincials, were still breathing. They appeared, by the traces of blood, to have rolled in the agonies of this horrid species of death, several yards from the place where they had been scalped. Near these unfortunate men, another dreadful object presented itself. A soldier who had been slightly wounded, appeared with his eyes torn out of their sockets, by the barbarous mode of COOGING, a word and practice peculiar to the Americans. Humanity forbids us to dwell longer on this scene of horror. The rebels,

rebels, to break the force of accusation, began to recriminate. They laid several instances of wanton cruelty to the charge of the troops; yet nothing is better ascertained, than that not one of the soldiers ever quitted the road, either upon their march or return from Concord.

The Congress stigmatize the expedition to Lexington and Concord, with the epithets "of an unprovoked and wanton assault." Was the collecting warlike implements at Concord, raising men throughout the Province, disciplining troops in every district, forming magazines, purchasing ammunition, and preparing arms, no provocation? Were not the whole Country assembled before they knew of this expedition? And was not their being so completely provided with the means of repelling hostilities, a sufficient proof, that they had previously resolved to commence them? Could TEN THOUSAND men, the number that attacked (though at a PRUDENT distance) the troops on their retreat, have been collected by accident, or called together by a sudden alarm? Are not the Congress conscious to themselves, and was not General Gage sufficiently apprized, that the people of Massachuset's-Bay had determined to begin hostilities, had the expedition to Concord never happened? The truth is, the march of the troops had only hastened the execution of the plan of rebellion settled before in the secret Councils of the Provincial Congress.

The

The assertions of the Congress concerning transactions within the town of Boston, are as utterly devoid of truth, as their account of what happened in the country. The hostile intentions of those **WITHIN**, were as apparent as the rebellion of their brethren **WITHOUT** was certain. The great law of self-defence must therefore have justified General Gage for having deprived the former of arms, which they almost avowedly intended to raise against all legal authority. After the skirmish at Lexington and Concord, all supplies from the country were cut off from the town of Boston. Many of the inhabitants desired to remove, with their effects. Their request was granted; but it was at the same time demanded, that they should deliver up their arms. This was, at first, approved by all; but great clamours soon after followed. Such of the inhabitants as were well affected, or pretended to be well affected to Government, alledged, that none but the ill-inclined shewed any desire to remove; and that when they should become safe with their effects, the town would be set on fire. A great demur having also arisen about the meaning of the word **EFFECTS**, whether **MERCHANDISE** was included; and the General being likewise sensible, that the permitting articles of that kind to be carried to the rebels, might strengthen them in their resistance; he retained the goods. But they are still safely kept for the owners, should

should they either continue faithful, or seize his Majesty's mercy, and return to their duty.

The next paragraph of the Declaration, as it is not supported by truth, is addressed to the passions. The Congress complain, with an attempt at the pathos, " of the separation of wives from " their husbands, " children from their parents, and the aged " and sick from their relations and friends." But is it not notorious to the whole world, that this SEPARATION, which the Congress affect to lament, was the necessary consequence of the rebellion of their countrymen? Did they not surround the town of Boston, with an armed force, with the avowed intention of destroying his Majesty's forces, Generals, and Governor? And were the gates to be left open " to let ruin enter," as one of their own writers expresses himself? Have the people of Boston suffered more hardships than the inhabitants of besieged towns usually suffer? Have they not even suffered fewer restraints than men in their situation had reason to expect? Was not Dr. Warren, the Chairman of the Provincial Congress, a notorious abettor of the insurrection, a nominal General in a rebel army, permitted to come into Boston, under pretence of visiting a sick friend, on the day preceding the action on Bunker's-hill, where he was killed in arms against his King and Country? Is this a mark of those cruel restraints,

strairts, those melancholy separations, of which the Congress complain ? But THEIR business is to engage the passions, where they can make no impression with their arguments.

In the next paragraph of their Declaration, the Congress, with their usual want of impartiality and fairness, mention the CONSEQUENCES of their own rebellion, as the cause of their taking up arms. They observe, that General Gage issued a Proclamation, " declaring all the inhabitants of Massa- chusett's-Bay rebels, suspending the course " of the Common Law, and publishing " instead thereof the use and exercise of the " Law Martial *." But, did he declare them rebels till they had attacked his Majesty's troops, seized his forts and garrisons, besieged his army in the capital of the Province, and not only interrupted the common course of justice, but even totally annihilated all legal authority ? It is with peculiar effrontery, that the Congress number the suspension of the common course of justice among their grievances, after all law and order had been trodden under foot by their own countrymen.

With the same degree of arrogant folly the Congress complain, that " their country- men were killed on Bunker's-hill, that " Charles-town was burnt to the ground, " that their ships and vessels have been seized,

* This he was authorised to do, as civil Governor, by a Law passed in the Province, many years ago.

" that their supplies of provisions have been
" intercepted, that General Carleton is in-
" stigating the Canadians and Indians against
" them, and that domestic enemies are en-
" couraged to attack them." All these
things may certainly have happened; but
have they not happened in consequence of
their own rebellion? Have *they* a right to
attack others, and have others no right to
defend themselves? Do the inhabitants of
Massachusetts-Bay think, that as they have
broken through all the ties that bind the
subject to the Sovereign, the law of nature
and of nations ought also to be suspended
to gratify *their* ambition, to flatter *their* folly,
to favour *their* extravagant schemes of in-
dependence? To the above imaginary cata-
logue of American grievances, may be op-
posed the just complaints of Great-Britain.
Have not the rebels carried their hostilities
to every corner against the Parent-State, that
first gave them existence, and reared them to
prosperity? Have they not attacked her
troops at Lexington and at Concord, fired
upon Boston, burnt the Light-house, taken
Ticonderago and Crown Point, and even
penetrated into Canada? And have they not
used every artifice to instigate the Savages to
make war on their Sovereign and Mother-
Country? Almost all these injuries preceded
the just exertions of this Kingdom to punish
their rebellion.

The

The conclusion of the Declaration, though laboured, contains nothing but empty declamation, and therefore merits little notice. The same disregard to truth, or rather the same attention to misrepresentation, which distinguishes the rest of that strange composition, is carried down to the end. They alledge, " that they are reduced to the alter-
" native of chusing an UNCONDITIONAL sub-
" mission to tyranny, or resistance by force." The Congress surely forget, or it suits THEIR purpose to pass over in silence, the favourable (perhaps too favourable) conditions offered to them, by the Resolution of the Commons, in the month of February last. The terms couched in that Resolution were so obviously advantageous to America, that the Opposition in Parliament declared them INSIDIOUS ; or, in other words, " too good to be sincere." An amicable settlement had ceased to have been an object with the Demagogues ABROAD ; and it would have ruined the schemes of the Faction at HOME. The FORMER derived their influence, consequence, and power, from anarchy and confusion : THEY could exist only in a storm ; the restoration of peace and tranquility must have reduced THEM to their original insignificance ; and as for the LATTER, rendered desperate by disappointed ambition, they would not hesitate to ruin their Country, to procure the fall of their rivals.

Such being the state of opinions among the leaders of Faction on both sides of the Atlantic, "resistance by force became naturally the choice of the Congress." To deceive an unhappy people, over whose minds they had established a temporary dominion, they boast of "their perfect union, and their great INTERNAL resources; and that foreign assistance is attainable." As to the first, we have no reason to give it implicit credit. The show of unanimity, which now subsists in America, appears, from undoubted information, to be the effect of fear, more than any love for the desperate cause of the rebels. Men of property are, from interest, enemies to confusion; and the intelligent, foreseeing the inevitable issue of hostilities against the invincible power of a mighty Empire, are averse to a contest, that, on the side of the Americans, must terminate in ruin. But BOTH are terrified into silence by the tyranny of a misled rabble; or their STILL VOICE is drowned in the clamours of Faction and tumult of Party.

The INTERNAL RESOURCES of the Americans are as problematical, as their unanimity in rebellion. Consist these mighty resources in a wretched Paper-currency*, esta-

* These PAPER-RESOURCES have been very liberally exerted by the Colonists, in the course of the year 1775. Besides the sums voted by the General Congress, the Provincial Congresses have granted large subsidies, for supporting their respective opposition to Great-Britain. By the most authentic accounts, the following

blished on no ostensible fund of credit; and voted by an illegal Assembly, whose authority is feeble, on account of its novelty, and transitory, as it arises from temporary prejudices? Should force, or even folly, stamp a domestic value on the *paste-board* dollars of the Congress, what foreign nation will receive them for its manufactures and commodities? Are the Americans themselves capable of furnishing all the great implements necessary for the prosecution of war? Can they supply their armies with tents, with powder, with cannon, or with musquets? Is any one of these articles manufactured in a sufficient quantity in America? And how can they be procured in Europe, with the wretched currency of the General Congress?

The Colonists, had not reason been warped by prejudice in every part of their conduct, might have foreseen, that their commencing

following Colonies have raised the sums annexed to each.

	Currency.	Sterling.
Georgia	- - - - -	£. 10,000
South Carolina,	£. 1,000,000	or 150,000
North Carolina	- - 50,000	or 30,000
Virginia	- - - 350,000	or 280,000
Maryland	- - - 100,000	<hr/>
Rhode-Island	- - 100,000	or 75,000

I have not been able to obtain any authentic Intelligence concerning the sums raised in the other Colonies. I may venture, however, to affirm, that the rebellious Provinces have raised, in the course of this year, a sum equal to the amount of their whole taxes. (Provincial as well as Parliamentary) in **SEVEN YEARS.**

a war deprived them instantly of the resources for carrying it on. Their whole Coast is lined, it is to be hoped, at this very moment, with our ships of war, to put a total stop to their Commerce. They have, therefore, lost at one stroke their whole trade in Corn and Rice with Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean; which, at a moderate computation, brought annually One Million Five Hundred Thousand Pounds to North America. They have lost the supplying our own West-India Islands, as well as those of other nations, with provisions; a branch of Commerce estimated little short of a Million annually. They have lost their Fishery, an article too great for computation; and they have lost the exportation to Great-Britain of commodities which would not have answered in any other market, had the sea remained open to their Navigation.

But if the Americans have little reason to depend on DOMESTIC RESOURCES, they have still less to hope from FOREIGN AID. Will France, in the present state of her finances, involve herself in a ruinous and expensive war, to gratify the revenge of a Faction in this Country, or to favour the ambition of Demagogues beyond the Atlantic? Will Spain give her assistance to raise an INDEPENDENT EMPIRE in America? Will she encourage her own American subjects to rise against her authority, by abetting the rebellion of the American subjects of Great-Britain? Can either

either Branch of the House of Bourbon be so blind to its own interest, as to wish to see a Sovereign State erected so near its settlements, which, from their proximity, their produce, and their wealth, must, in such a case, become objects of invasion, depredation, and conquest? What has either France or Spain to fear from THIS KINGDOM, whose interest consists solely in preserving what she has already acquired? But have not BOTH every thing to fear, should a new Sovereignty start up in America, in which a want of resources would, in some degree, justify the providing itself at the expence of wealthy neighbours?

Having endeavoured to terrify Great-Britain with their DOMESTIC resources and FOREIGN aids; the Congress thinking, perhaps, they had gone too far, conclude with assurances, that "they have not YET determined to dis- "solve their union with the Mother-Country." But that UNION, it appears from the sequel, must not be construed into SUBORDINATION, on the part of the Americans. The general supremacy of the Legislature, which by pervading the whole British Empire renders it ONE State, must not, it seems, cross the Atlantic, but in such proportions as may suit the inclinations of the Congress. "THEY "have taken up arms," as they openly avow, "against that Supremacy;" and "THEY will "not lay them down till hostilities shall cease "on the part of Great-Britain." This is the Ultimatum

Ultimatum offered by the Congress: Withdraw your armies, recal your fleets, and you may have peace from the Americans; for, as "they fight not for conquest," they do not yet mean to transfer hostilities into the heart of these kingdoms!

The haughty Monarch who dreamt of universal monarchy in the last century, could scarcely have expressed himself in more insolent terms to the petty Princes surrounding his dominions, than the Congress have done to the powerful Empire to which they owe the allegiance of subjects. Some allowance ought to be made for THEIR ignorance, and a great deal for the petulance of men new to consequence and authority; but, even in that case, the insolence of the Declaration is calculated to raise indignation, as well as contempt. The Congress, however, are only the echoes of a desperate Faction in this Kingdom, who have uniformly, in their public exhibitions, degraded the strength, power, and authority of Great-Britain, to exalt America on the ruins. With an effrontery without example in any other age or nation, THESE MEN assume the name of Patriots, yet lay the honour, dignity, and reputation of their Country under the feet of her rebellious subjects. With a peculiar refinement on Parricide, they bind the hands of the MOTHER, while they plant a dagger in those of the DAUGHTER, to stab her to the heart; and, to finish the horrid picture, they smile

at

at the mischief they have done, and look round to the spectators for applause.

It appears, upon the whole, that the Declaration, which ought to contain all the argument in favour of the Americans, contains, in fact, nothing that does not militate against their cause. The right of taxing all the subjects of the Empire, for the general support of the State, is a part of that Supremacy which the first principles of the Constitution have vested in the British Legislature. This Supremacy has been exerted by Parliament, and admitted by the Americans, ever since their ancestors migrated from these kingdoms. If they now deny it, by that very act they cease to be subjects, and become rebels. But granting, for the sake of argument, that Taxation is no part of the supremacy of Parliament, the very conduct of the Americans not only justifies, but even renders it absolutely necessary, that a precedent should be made. They own, "that their internal "resources are great." The inability of contributing to the necessities of a State, from whom they have derived their origin, their support, their protection, and their prosperity, is no longer a pretence; and if they will give no Revenue as subjects, they owe a debt as allies. They affect to maintain armies by land; they threaten to send fleets to sea; they alledge, that their resources are capable of supporting a rebellion against the Mother-Country; yet they justify that rebellion

bellion by the demand made by the Mother-Country, for their bearing a part of their own FUTURE EXPENCES.

That the FORMER expences of America have drawn from Great-Britain an incredible treasure, may be seen from the following authentic estimate. We shall begin this estimate with the accession of the House of Hanover to the Throne of these Kingdoms.

From the year 1714 to the year 1775, the money voted by Parliament, for the forces employed in defence of the Colonies, amounts to	L. s. d.
Grants in Parliament, for rewards, encouragement, and indemnification to the Americans, during the last war	8,779,925 3 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bounties on American commodities to the end of 1774	1,081,771 11 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sums granted to the Colonies, for the support of their Civil Government and Provincial Forces	1,609,345 3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Extraordinary expences for forts, garrisons, ordnance stores, transports, carriages, provisions, may be estimated equal to the expences of the forces	3,835,900 7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Expences of fleets and naval stations employed and established in America for its defence may be estimated at	8,779,925 3 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Annual presents to the American Indians, for abstaining from hostilities against the Colonies, and for the cession of lands,	10,000,000 00 00
	610,000 00 00
	<hr/>
	34,697,142 10 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	To

To this amazing sum might be added, by implication, the other expences of the two last Wars. The FORMER of those wars was undertaken for the protection of the American Commerce, or rather American SMUGGLING, to the Spanish Colonies. We entered into the LATTER for the defence of the Colonists; we carried it on for their security; and terminated it for their SOLE advantage. The two last Wars have cost this Country, at a moderate computation, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS. To this extraordinary waste of treasure, what have the Colonies to oppose to balance the account? Is it a languid Commerce, which scarcely makes its returns once in three years?

We have heard much (indeed, a great deal too much) of this Commerce from factious men on both sides of the Atlantic. This is the mighty engine which they wield over the heads of the ignorant; the great bugbear with which they terrify the timid. To estimate the value of the American trade with any degree of precision, is impossible. The accounts kept in the Custom-house are no authorities. When exports pay no duty, a door is opened to false entries. The vanity of some Merchants, the interest of others, too frequently induce them to magnify, beyond measure, the quantity of their export trade. Besides, the mercantile abettors of American resistance thought they served the Colonies,

Colonies, whilst they gratified their own private views. We may conclude, that the Commerce with North America has been greatly over-rated, as the TOTAL LOSS of it has NOT affected this Kingdom. We ought, perhaps, to ascribe to ITS INSIGNIFICANCE what we are taught to attribute to an INCREASE in other channels of trade.

Like all monopolies, the Commerce with North-America, such as it has been, was much more profitable to the Merchant, than advantageous to the Manufacturer. One-third of this commerce with any State in Europe (from which the returns are annual) would have brought equal profit to the manufacturer, and would have enabled him to employ an equal number of hands. Political impostors will not fail to advance magnificent fictions on this head, and the ignorant cannot cease to give them credit. On a subject where proofs are so difficult to be obtained, one may hazard a conjecture. The money expended by this Nation upon America, for the PROTECTION of HER inhabitants and the ENCOURAGEMENT of HER Commerce, would have been more than sufficient to purchase ALL the manufactures ever exported from Great-Britain to the Colonies now in rebellion. I mean not to include, in this conjectural estimate, any sums expended by us in any OTHER part of the world during the two last (truly American) Wars.

The

The Americans, with a degree of folly scarce excusable in the most consummate ignorance, claim a merit with Great-Britain, for the Revenue arising from imposts laid upon some of their commodities, in THIS Kingdom. The chief of these are Rice and Tobacco. The Revenue arising from Rice is so insignificant that it scarce deserves to be mentioned. It never amounted, at the highest computation, to ten thousand pounds in any one year. Tobacco, when re-exported, pays no duty; and it is a matter of great doubt, whether the frauds committed in the drawbacks may not nearly balance the ostensible Revenue arising to the State from the home consumption.

But, granting a great Revenue should arise from Rice and Tobacco to the State, what favour do we owe to our Colonies on that head? That Revenue is paid by *OURSELVES*. The Tax is on the Consumer, and not upon the Planter. Should Siberia supply us with Rice and Tobacco, the price would not probably be greater to the Consumer, nor the Revenue less to the State. If the Americans claim any merit from those Taxes, what do we NOT owe to the Emperor of China? The Revenue from Tea is much more considerable than that from Rice and Tobacco. A Congress at Pekin might accuse us of ingratitude on this subject, with as much justice as the Assembly lately sitting at Philadelphia.

It is evident, from the above state of facts, that the Colonies have no claim to an exemption from Taxation, on account of any advantage that has accrued to this country from their commerce. But Taxation has now ceased to be any part of the dispute. It goes to the whole authority of the Mother-Country. The Americans offer no longer the very name of Obedience. But why should I speak of Obedience? This **VERY CONGRESS**, whose Declaration is the subject of this disquisition, have passed a **Vote of Independence** *. They have long acted as rebels, they now affect to contend as enemies. Their abettors in this Kingdom are no strangers to this circumstance; yet they dignify avowed rebellion with the title of "**A GLORIOUS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.**"

Such is the conduct of the Americans, to which that of Great-Britain has all along

* When this Vote was carried, the Provinces stood as follows :

<i>For Independence.</i>	<i>Against it.</i>
Massachuset's Bay	New York
Connecticut	New Jersey
New-Hampshire	Lower Counties
Pennsylvania	North Carolina
Virginia	Maryland.
South-Carolina	
Rhode-Island.	

This was the State of the Vote, on the first day. But, on the second day, Mr. Dickenson, **AFTER REFLECTION ON HIS PILLOW**, retracted, and carried off the Pennsylvania Delegates. There being then an equality of voices, the question *went off*, for the time. formed

formed a striking contrast. With the indulgence and patience of a Parent, she soothed, flattered, and even courted them to a reconciliation. In pity to the weakness, in condescension to the folly, in consideration to the prejudices of a froward child, she held out the olive-branch, when she ought, perhaps, to have stretched forth the rod of correction. Her pity, her kindness, and affection, were lost upon the Americans. They advanced rapidly from claim to claim, and construed her forbearance into timidity. Each Act that was repealed furnished a subject for triumph, and not an object for gratitude. Each concession became the foundation of some new demand, till, at length, by assuming all to themselves by rebellion, they left the Mother-Country nothing to bestow.

In this situation of affairs, Great-Britain must pursue one of two lines of conduct, with regard to her refractory Colonies. She must either put up with the loss of ALL her expence, and emancipate them for ever, or reduce them to that state of dependence which subjects owe to the supreme authority in every Empire. As the latter line must of necessity be pursued, it ought to be pursued with a mixture of spirit and prudence. To be in every respect in a condition to force equitable terms, is the best security for their being voluntarily offered. But should terms be offered by the rebels, the RIGHTS of THIS COUNTRY must be more regarded in the ac-

commodation, than the CLAIMS OF AMERICA. To permit the Colonies to *gain* by one rebellion, is to sow the seeds of another. But if the Colonies, as communities, are not permitted to *gain* by their refractory conduct, I am far from wishing that individuals should *lose* any part of their rights as British subjects.

To propose a plan to the Americans, in their present political frenzy, would be to speak to the winds. To make them *less* free than the other subjects of the State, can never be the *design* of this Country. To obtain *greater* privileges, can scarcely be their own *design*. If they are not madly bent on independence, let them propose the conditions on which they wish to continue subjects. But if they are to continue subjects, they must perform their duty as such, and contribute toward the expence of the State, for the general protection. The Legislature of this Kingdom cannot possibly relinquish any part of its supremacy over the Colonies; but it is in the power of the Colonies to share in that supremacy. If they complain of being taxed without having the privilege of sending Members to Parliament, let them be represented. Nay, more: Let their representation increase in proportion to the Revenue they shall furnish. If they wish rather to vote their QUOTA towards the general supply, through their own General Courts and Assemblies, the resolution of Parliament on that subject is still open to their choice.

But

A P P E N

An ACCOUNT of what SUMS have been GRANTED to the different
ESTIMATES for the SUPPORT of the CIVIL GOVERNMENT
SUMS have been GRANTED for the SUPPORT of the PROVIN

Years.	NEW-YORK.			CAROLINA.			GEORGIA.			SOUTH CAROLINA.			
	Forces.			Not distinguished whether North or South.			Settling and Securing.			Military.			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
1716	7,112	12	0										
1717	7,093	3	4										
1718	7,141	16	8										
1719	7,141	16	8										
1720	7,161	8	0										
1721	7,141	16	8										
1722	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1723	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1724	7,161	8	0	3,079	15	9 $\frac{1}{2}$							
1725	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1726	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1727	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1728	7,161	8	0	3,079	15	9 $\frac{1}{2}$							
1729	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1730	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1731	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1732	7,161	8	0	3,079	15	9 $\frac{1}{2}$							
1733	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1734	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6							
1735	7,141	16	8	3,071	7	6	26,000	0	0	3,079	15	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1736	7,161	8	0				10,000	0	0	3,071	17	6	
1737	7,141	16	8				20,000	0	0				
1738	7,141	16	8				8,000	0	0				
1739	7,141	16	8				20,000	0	0				
1740	7,161	8	0				4,000	0	0				
1741	7,141	16	8				10,000	0	0				
1742	7,141	16	8										
1743	7,141	16	8				12,000	0	0	2,445	10	0	
1744	7,161	8	0							87,724	2	2	
1745	7,141	16	8							26,406	12	11	
1746	7,141	16	8				4,000	0	0	2,445	10	0	
1747	7,141	16	8							2,445	10	0	
1748	7,161	8	0							2,445	10	0	
1749	7,141	16	8				5,304	3	4				
1750	7,141	16	8				5,304	3	4				
1751	7,141	16	8										
1752	6,946	3	4				4,000	0	0				
1753	7,141	16	8				2,000	0	0				
1754	7,141	16	8				18,128	19	1 $\frac{3}{4}$				
1755	7,141	16	8				2,957	10	0				
1756	7,161	8	0				3,557	10	0				
1757	7,141	16	8				30,000	0	0				
1758	7,141	16	8				3,557	10	0				
1759	7,141	16	8				4,057	10	0				
1760	7,161	8	0				4,057	10	0				
1761	7,141	16	8				4,057	10	0				
1762	7,141	16	8				4,057	10	0				
1763	2,367	11	4				4,136	0	0				
1764							4,031	8	8				
1765							3,966	0	0				
1766							3,986	0	0				
1767							3,986	0	0				
1768							3,986	0	0				
1769							3,086	0	0				
1770							3,086	0	0				
1771							3,086	0	0				
1772							3,186	0	0				
1773							3,06	0	0				
1774							3,086	0	0				
1775							3,086	0	0				
	337,955	7	8		43,024	9	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	250,813	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	130,064	8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
											111,104	4	6

N D I X.

rent PROVINCES in NORTH-AMERICA; as far as appears from the
ENT of each PROVINCE, distinguishing each Year. And also of what
INCIAL FORCES in NORTH-AMERICA.

H I N A.	NOVA-SCOTIA.	EAST-FLORIDA.	WEST-FLORIDA.	A M E R I C A.	
	Civil Government.	Civil Government.	Civil Government.	Forces.	Rewards and Compen- sations.
d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
6	76,255 3 0				
6	111,510 13 7 $\frac{1}{2}$				
6	61,493 0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$				
6	94,615 12 4				
6	58,447 2 0				
6	40,418 7 8				
0	55,720 1 7				
6	44,170 9 1				
6	16,528 12 11				
6	21,181 3 5				
0	17,636 11 7				
6	10,595 12 9				
6	5,864 1 10				
6	10,263 15 9 $\frac{1}{4}$				
6	5,703 14 11	5,700 0 0	5,700 0 0	49,468 5 0	120,000 0 0
6	11,911 14 11	5,200 0 0	5,200 0 0		50,000 0 0
6	12,874 16 0	5,250 0 0	5,300 0 0		41,117 17 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	5,557 11 5	4,750 0 0	4,800 0 0		200,000 0 0
6	3,895 1 11	4,750 0 0	4,400 0 0	35,744 8 4	202,977 7 8
6	4,375 17 11	4,750 0 0	4,800 0 0	22,179 0 0	200,000 0 0
6	4,239 0 5	4,750 0 0	4,800 0 0		133,333 6 8
6	5,796 10 5	4,350 0 0	6,100 0 0		133,333 6 8
6	5,346 10 5	4,950 0 0	5,650 0 0		
6	5,166 10 5	4,950 0 0	7,274 13 6		
6	4,346 10 5	4,950 0 0	4,850 0 0		
6	4,346 10 5	4,950 0 0	5,450 0 0		
4 6	695,220 17 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	59,300 0 0	64,324 13 6	72,999 0 0	1,316,511 3 5

But as long as they assume the language of a Sovereign State, this Kingdom can enter into no negociation, can meet no compromise. Nations, as well as individuals, have a character, a certain dignity, which they must preserve at the risque of their existence. Great-Britain has obeyed the dictates of humanity beyond the limits prescribed by her reputation. To tempt her further, is full of peril, as her indignation begins to rise. She has long had reason to complain of American ingratitude ; and she will not bear longer with American injustice. The dangerous resentment of a great people is ready to burst forth. They already begin to ask, with vehemence, Is this the return we ought to expect from Colonies, whom with parental indulgence we have cherished in infancy, protected in youth, and reared to manhood ? Have we spent in their cause so much treasure, and have they the ingratitude to refuse to bear a small portion of our burdens ? Have we spilt so much of the blood of their enemies, and do they repay us by imbruining their hands in our own ? The law of God and of Nature is on the side of an indulgent Parent, against an undutiful Child ; and should necessary correction render him incapable of future offence, he has only his own obstinacy and folly to blame.

F I N I S.

An ACCOUNT of MONEY Voted for the
 FORCES employed in the Defence of AMERICA
 since the ACCESSION of the FAMILY of
 HANOVER; distinguishing each YEAR.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1714	—	39,478	11	0	1745	—	97,739	5 5
1715	—	34,742	14	2	1746	—	97,038	7 11
1716	—	34,837	17	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1747	—	97,038	7 11
1717	—	34,742	14	2	1748	—	97,277	2 6
1718	—	40,283	15	11	1749	—	63,002	17 1
1719	—	37,325	2	1	1750	—	81,059	14 2
1720	—	37,423	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1751	—	81,059	14 2
1721	—	40,396	9	7	1752	—	78,838	18 7
1722	—	40,396	9	7	1753	—	81,059	14 2
1723	—	40,396	9	7	1754	—	81,059	14 2
1724	—	40,502	17	8	1755	—	81,059	14 2
1725	—	40,396	9	7	1756	—	142,813	15 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1726	—	40,396	9	7	1757	—	249,854	1 3
1727	—	40,396	9	7	1758	—	449,594	4 7
1728	—	40,502	17	8	1759	—	445,013	9 7
1729	—	40,396	9	7	1760	—	482,797	8 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1730	—	40,396	9	7	1761	—	583,892	18 9
1731	—	40,396	9	7	1762	—	615,845	12 11
1732	—	40,502	17	8	1763	—	310,317	0 8
1733	—	40,396	9	7	1764	—	252,093	15 11
1734	—	41,041	6	3	1765	—	268,054	19 9
1735	—	52,754	15	5	1766	—	268,565	19 9
1736	—	52,895	0	8	1767	—	219,668	1 5
1737	—	52,754	15	5	1768	—	270,666	2 6
1738	—	63,026	9	7	1769	—	269,615	2 3
1739	—	65,106	19	7	1770	—	259,662	12 7
1740	—	73,469	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1771	—	259,909	3 1
1741	—	72,723	18	9	1772	—	263,610	5 6
1742	—	74,027	8	9	1773	—	269,196	17 8
1743	—	73,827	8	9	1774	—	247,324	3 2
1744	—	81,595	19	8	1775	—	247,506	15 2
<hr/>					<hr/>			
1,487,340					7,437,236			
0					1 7			
7 $\frac{1}{2}$								

L. s. d.

The Sums granted for the extraordinary Expences of the Army, Forts, Ordnance Stores, Transports, Carriages, Provisions, are so much dispersed through the Accounts of the various Offices, that it was found very difficult, if not impossible, to extract the particulars. The general Estimate is - - -

8,775,925 3 11½

The same Observation may be made with regard to the Navy. The Expences of the Ships employed in North America, are so much blended with the other Expences of the Navy, that it is impossible to separate them. At the most moderate Computation they may be estimated at - - -

10,000,000 0 0

Money laid out in Indian Presents, in holding Congresses, and in purchasing cessions of land, may be estimated at - - - - -

610,000 0 0

An Account of Bounties on American Commodities.

L. s. d.

Bounty on Indigo from 1749 to 1773 paid by Great Britain -	145,022	3	4½
Bounty on Hemp and Flax paid under the Act of 4 Geo. III. ch. 26. from 1766 to 1772 -	5,560	8	7½
Bounty on importation of Naval Stores from America, pursuant to the Act of the 3d of Queen Anne, 1706 to 1729 - - -	430,178	4	6
Under the Act of 2d Geo. II. from 1729 to 1774 - - - - -	1,028,584	7	3
	1,609,345	3	9½

Besides other Bonnties granted on
 Raw Silk,
 Pipe Staves
 Hogshead Staves,
 Barrel Staves,
 Pipe, Hogshead, or Barrel-Heading

Total of Money laid out by Great-
 Britain on the Revolted Provin-
 ces, since the Accession of the
 House of Hanover - - - 34,697,142 10 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

ACTS *establishing the SUPREMACY of PARLIA-
 MENT over AMERICA.*

1. By 12 Ch. II. ch. 18, anno 1660. Tobacco not to be transported from America, except to England, or Plantations belonging to his Majesty, under the penalty of forfeiting ship and goods, &c.

2. By 15 Ch. II. No European goods to be imported into any of the Plantations, except on English-built ships, whereof the master and three-fourths of the men are English.---Duty laid on sea-coals sent to the Plantations, by the 10th section of said Act. By 22 and 23 Ch. II. Plantation goods not to be carried to Ireland, and penalties inflicted for unloading them, otherwise than in England.

3. By 25th Ch. II. The exportation of Plantation commodities further restrained.

4. By 13 and 14 Ch. II. sec. 12. Same restraints extend to Molasses and Rice.

By 7 and 8 Wm. III. sec. 16. An Act for preventing Frauds, and regulating the Plantation-trade---Section 15 prohibits any body, claiming lands by Charter or Letters-patent on the Continent of America, from selling their property to any person, otherwise than natural-born subjects of England, Ireland, Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, without the consent of his Majesty, heirs, and successors.

By 7 and 8 Wm. III. sec. 6. Officers of Customs to have the same power in America, as in England.---Sec. 9 directs that all By-laws and Customs in America contrary

trary to said Act, or any other Act to be made in England, shall be void.

8 Geo. I. ch. 15. sec. 24. Furs required to be brought from the Plantations to Great Britain.

5 G. II. ch. 7. Lands in the Plantations made liable to the payment of Debts.

5 G. II. ch. 22. Hats not to be exported from one Plantation to another.

13 Geo. II. ch. 7. Naturalizing all Foreigners, even Jews, who shall reside seven years in the Colonies.

**ACTS complained of by the AMERICANS.
IN Mr. GRENVILLE's Administration.**

4 G. III. ch. 34. Paper Bills in the Plantations declared void.

**UNDER the Administration of Lord ROCKINGHAM
and the Duke of GRAFTON.**

6. Geo. III. c. 2. The Declaratory Act of the Supremacy of Great-Britain.

7 G. III. ch. 41. Customs and Duties in the British Colonies put under the management of the Commissioners residing there.

**UNDER the Administration of Lord CHATHAM
and the Duke of GRAFTON.**

7 Geo. III. c. 59. Suspending all proceedings of the Council of New York, till provision be made for the British troops.

8 Geo. III. ch. 22. Act for more easy recovery of Penalties inflicted by the Acts relating to Trade, and the Revenues in the Plantations.

**ACTS of PARLIAMENT for imposing
Taxes on America.**

12 Ch. II. ch. 4. Tonnage and Poundage extended to all his Majesty's Dominions, without exception.

25 Ch.

25 Ch. II. ch. 7. sec. 2. If Bonds are not given to land the goods imported from America, in England, &c. then several duties to be imposed, collected under the direction of the Officers of the Customs in England.

9 Ann. ch. 10.—Post-Office.

9 Ann. ch. 27. Lays a duty on Prize goods carried to America.

3 Geo. II. ch. 28. sec. 25. The Half-Subsidy to be paid on Rice from Carolina to Cape Finisterre — 8 Geo. II. ch. 19. The same extended to Georgia, and continued down by subsequent Acts.

6 Geo. II. ch. 13. Upon the Importation of Rum, Sugar, and Molasses into America, several duties to be paid.

ACTS complained of by the AMERICANS.
IN Mr. GRENVILLE's Administration.

4 Geo. III. ch. 15. Certain Rates and Duties on foreign goods imported into the Colonies.

5 Geo. III. Postage of Letters.

IN the Administration of Lord ROCKINGHAM and the Duke of GRAFTON.

6 Geo. III. ch. 52. Alterations made in the Act of the 4th of Geo. III.

IN the Administration of Lord CHATHAM and the Duke of GRAFTON.

7 Geo. III. ch. 46. Duties laid on the importation of certain goods imported into the Colonies.

UNDER Lord NORTH's Administration.

10 Geo. III. The above Act repealed, except as to Tea.

A
DECLARATION
BY THE
REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE
UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA,
NOW MET IN
GENERAL CONGRESS AT PHILADELPHIA,
SETTING FORTH THE
CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF THEIR TAKING UP ARMS.

IF it was possible for men who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body: But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject that Government was instituted to promote the welfare

welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The Legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that Kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms.---Yet, however blinded that Assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under Charters from the Crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies and the Kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm arose from this source; and the Minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain

Britain in the late war, publickly declared, that these Colonies enabled her to triumph oyer her enemies.---Towards the conclusion of that war it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his Councils.---From that fatal moment the affairs of the British Empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundation. The new Ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without blood-
shed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable
plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peace-
able and respectful behaviour from the beginning
of Colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and use-
ful services during the war, tho' so recently and
amply acknowledged in the most honourable
manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and
by Parliament, could not save them from the me-
ditated innovations. Parliament was influenced
to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a
new power over them, have, in the course of eleven
years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit
and consequences attending this power, as to leave
no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence
under it. They have undertaken to give and grant
our money without our consent, tho' we have ever
exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own
property. Statutes have been passed for extending
the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty and Vice-
Admiralty beyond their antient limits, for depriv-
ing us of the accustomed and inestimable privi-
lege

lege of trial by Jury in cases affecting both life and property ; for suspending the legislature of one of the Colonies ; for interdicting all commerce of another ; and for altering fundamentally the form of government, established by charter, and secured by Acts of its own Legislature solemnly confirmed by the Crown ; for exempting the " Murderers" of Colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment ; for erecting in a neighbouring Province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence ; and for quartering soldiers upon the Colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament, that Colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail ? By one Statute it is declared, that Parliament can " of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power ? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence ; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws ; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the Throne as supplicants ; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language. But Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true ; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate

affectionate people. A Congress of Delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful Petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow-subjects of Great-Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy; but the subsequent events have shewn, how vain is this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's Speech. Our Petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses amongst a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their Address, in the month of February, said, That "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the Province of Massachuset's Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the Supreme Legislature." Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole Colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an Act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large rein-

forcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the City of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns, in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where Colony should bid against Colony, all of them uninformed what ransom should redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, Ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising in our own mode the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this Continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same

same Province, killing several, and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General their Governor, and having in order to procure their dismission entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own Magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms; but in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General, further emulating his Ministerial masters, by a proclamation, bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these Colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial."—His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt

burnt Charles Town, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that Province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these Colonies now feels, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of Administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated Ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just: our union is perfect: our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of Divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly before God and the

the world declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this Declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independant states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed,—and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and Impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict

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conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the Empire from the calamities of civil war.

By Order of CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

Attested,

CHARLES THOMPSON, SECRETARY.

Philadelphia, July 6, 1775.

Since the first Publication of the preceding Pamphlet, the following Articles came to the hands of the Author. If any additional proof was necessary to establish the justness of his observations on the REAL DESIGNS of the Americans, he apprehends it is furnished by this Paper. The Reader is requested to compare the concluding Article, with the late speeches of a certain " Illustrious Band," in both Houses of Parliament.

ARTICLES of CONFEDERATION and PERPETUAL UNION, entered into by the DELEGATES of the several Colonies of NEW HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. in General Congress met at PHILADELPHIA, May 10th, 1775.

ARTICLE I.

THE name of this Confederacy shall henceforth be
The United Colonies of North America.

II.

The United Colonies hereby severally enter into a firm League of Friendship with each other, binding on

on themselves and their posterity, for their common defence against their enemies, for the security of their liberties, and properties, the safety of their persons and families, and their mutual and general welfare.

III.

That each Colony shall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdictions, within its own limits ; and may amend its own constitution, as shall seem best to its own Assembly or Convention.

IV.

That for the more convenient management of general interests, Delegates shall be elected annually in each Colony, to meet in General Congress, at such time and place as shall be agreed on in the next preceding Congress. Only where particular circumstances do not make a deviation necessary, it is understood to be a rule, That each succeeding Congress is to be held in a different Colony, till the whole number be gone through, and so in perpetual rotation ; and that accordingly, the next Congress after the present shall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

V.

That the power and duty of the Congress shall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great Britain, the settling all disputes between Colony and Colony, if any should arise, and the planting new Colonies where proper. The Congress shall also make such general ordinances thought necessary to the general welfare, of which particular assemblies cannot be competent, viz. those that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the establishment of posts, the regulation of our common forces : the Congress shall also have the appointment of all Officers civil and military appertaining to the General Confederacy, such as General Treasurer, Secretary, &c. &c. &c.

VI.

VI.

All charges of wars, and all other general expences to be incurred for the common welfare, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which is to be supplied by each Colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age: the tax for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each Colony.

VII.

The number of Delegates to be elected, and sent to the Congress by each Colony, shall be regulated, from time to time, by the number of such polls returned; so as that one Delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. And the Delegates are to bring with them to every Congress, an authenticated return of the number of polls in their respective Colonies, which is to be taken for the purposes above-mentioned.

VIII.

At every meeting of the Congress, one half of the Members returned, exclusive of Proxies, shall be necessary to make a quorum; and each Delegate at the Congress shall have a vote in all cases; and, if necessarily absent, shall be allowed to appoint any other Delegate from the same Colony to be his Proxy, who may vote for him.

IX.

An Executive Council shall be appointed by the Congress out of their own body, consisting of 12 persons, of whom, in the first appointment, one third, viz. four, shall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; and as the said terms expire, the vacancies shall be filled up by appointments for three years, whereby one-third of the Members will be changed annually; and each person who has served the same term of three years as Counsellor, shall have a respite of three years, before he can be elected again. This Council, of whom two-thirds shall be a quorum, in the recess of the Congress, is to execute what shall have been enjoined thereby; to manage the General Continental

Continental business and interests, to receive applications from foreign countries, to prepare matters for the consideration of the Congress, to fill up, *pro tempore*, Continental Offices that fall vacant, and to draw on the General Treasurer for such monies as may be necessary for general services, and appropriated by the Congress to such services.

X.

No Colony shall engage in an offensive war with any nation of Indians, without the consent of the Congress, or great Council above mentioned, who are first to consider the justice and necessity of such war.

XI.

A perpetual alliance offensive and defensive is to be entered into, as soon as may, with the Six Nations; their limits ascertained, and to be secured to them; their lands not to be encroached on, nor any private or Colony purchase to be made of them hereafter to be held good; nor any contract for lands to be made, but between the great Council of the Indians at Onondaga and the General Congress. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indians shall also be ascertained and secured to them in the same manner; and persons appointed to reside among them in proper Districts, who shall take care to prevent injustice in the trade with them; and be enabled at our General expense, by occasional small supplies, to relieve their personal wants and distresses, and all purchases from them shall be by the Congress, for the general advantage and benefit of the United Colonies.

XII.

As all new institutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, it is agreed, that the General Congress, from time to time, shall propose such amendments of this constitution as may be found necessary, which being approved by a majority of the Colony Assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the Articles of this Confederation.

XIII.

Any and every Colony from Great Britain upon the Continent of North America, not at present engaged in our Association, may, upon application and joining the said Association, be received into the Confederation, viz. Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermudas, and the East and West Florida's, and shall thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual assistance, and commerce.

These Articles shall be proposed to the several Provincial Conventions or Assemblies, to be by them considered; and, if approved, they are advised to empower their Delegates to agree and ratify the same in the ensuing Congress; after which the union thereby established is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the Petition of the last Congress to the King are agreed to; till the Acts, since made, restraining the American commerce and fisheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boston by shutting up its ports; for burning Charlestown, and for the expence of this unjust war; and till all the British troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of these events, the Colonies are to return to their former connections and friendship with Great Britain; but on failure thereof, this Confederation is to be perpetual.

WHEREAS it hath pleased God to bless these Countries with a most plentiful harvest, whereby much corn and other provisions can be spared to foreign Nations who may want the same:

Resolved, That, after the expiration of six months from the 20th July instant, being the day appointed by a late Act of Parliament of Great Britain, for restraining the Trade of the Confederate Colonies, all Custom Houses therein (if the said Act be not first repealed) shall be shut up, and all the officers of the same discharged from the execution of their several functions;

K.

and

and declared to be thenceforth open to the ships of every State in Europe that will admit our commerce and protect it; who may bring in and expose to sale, free of all duties, their respective produce and manufactures, and every kind of merchandise, excepting Teas, and the merchandise of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands.

Resolved, That we will, to the utmost of our power, maintain and support this freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, any reconciliation between us and Great Britain notwithstanding, and as much longer beyond that term as the late Acts of Parliament for restraining the commerce and fisheries, and disallowing the laws and charters of any of the Colonies, shall continue unrepealed.

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